

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE TOKA-LEYA

OF

SOUTHERN ZAMBIA

By

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Thesis submitted to the Department  
of Social Anthropology for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (PH.D.)

of the

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1977



# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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This thesis examines the role of the Christian missions of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, the Church of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church among the Toka-Leya of southern Zambia. It attempts to view the Christian missionaries and the Toka-Leya as a 'total society' and therefore closely relates the behaviour of the two groups in the mission field. It analyses the ideals and objectives of the sponsoring missionary societies in Europe and America; the aims and motives of the missionaries in the mission field; the social relations between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya, and the Toka-Leya reactions to Christianity, both during the initial period of contact and the contemporary times. In order to both define the Toka-Leya as a social reality and to emphasize the basic differences between their culture and that of the missionaries, a description of their social structure, with regard to the economic, political, kinship and religious organization, has been presented.

Notwithstanding the set-backs to the efforts of the missionaries soon after the colonial occupation, there has been a steadily rising interest in Christianity among the Toka-Leya. This interest appears to be related to pervasive changes that have been affecting the social structure since the colonial occupation. To the Toka-Leya, the apparent inability of the traditional cosmology to cope with the new changes, which are seen as being disruptive to society, has called for a new approach to the predicament. Christianity, by offering a universalistic interpretation of the new disturbances in society, is more appealing to the Toka-Leya, for it helps them to cope with social change, psychologically and intellectually.

*Use other side if necessary.*



## D E C L A R A T I O N

### Regulation 2.4.15

I declare that this entire thesis, entitled:  
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Kafungulwa Mubitana

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## A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

I wish to thank the National Museums Board of Zambia for granting me permission during various periods between 1970 and 1976 to carry out this study, and for offering me paid leave for up to a year in Cambridge to assemble my research material for this Ph.D. thesis. The Board has been generous enough to allow me to lay aside my administrative duties as Director of the Livingstone Museum, at a time when my services were most needed, in view of the manpower problems facing the Museum.

I am most grateful to my two Supervisors, Dr. R.G. Willis, of the University of Edinburgh, and Dr. M.J. Ruel of Cambridge University, for their illuminating suggestions, constructive criticism of my work and general guidance. I would like to thank Dr. Willis for the generosity he extended to me during my stay in Edinburgh and also for his efforts in liaising with the relevant University authorities with regard to the presentation of the thesis. To Dr. Ruel, I wish to express my indebtedness for his untiring efforts in arranging for my family's stay in Cambridge and my affiliation to Clare Hall and the African Studies Centre. Without his encouragement, the completion of this study would not have been possible. Moreover, my family owes a debt of gratitude to his family for all the generosity extended to us during our stay in Cambridge.

I am thankful to the President of Clare Hall and to the Director and Managers of the African Studies Centre, Cambridge, for offering me associateship of their institutions during the academic year 1976-77.



I wish to express my gratitude to the various people in Zambia who have assisted me in various ways in my research work. I thank Mrs. M. Kauffman, Mrs. M. Owen and Mr. Chilombo Bwalya for translating French records into English - a task that took nearly four years to complete. Mrs. Owen, in particular, who made the greater part of the translations, undertook to do so on a voluntary basis, despite her demanding work as Secretary of the National Museums Board. To Miss Elaine Brittell and Mr. Samuel Shewmaker of the Church of Christ, I am grateful for making available to me various records, magazines and books relating to the activities of their church among the Toka-Leya and Tonga. To Father Macartan Hyland (Cap.) of Makunka Mission, I am grateful for his assistance in various aspects of my fieldwork and for the sketch map of Makunka Mission and neighbourhood which he has kindly allowed me to reproduce. To other Roman Catholic priests and lay members whose names shall remain anonymous I am thankful for all their helpful comments. To the Rev. E. Berger of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Rev. T. Munn of St. Andrew's Church, Livingstone, I am grateful for their communications and other forms of assistance to me. My thanks go also to my colleagues at the Livingstone Museum who have been most co-operative in 'digging up' much needed data for me, long after I left Livingstone. I would mention, in this respect, the following people: Mr. M.N. Chellah, Acting Director; Mr. R.N.A. Chakanika, Senior Assistant Keeper, Department of Ethnography and Art; Mr. P. Siachinga, Museum Assistant; and Mr. A. Kapika, Assistant Accountant.

From the very first day of my fieldwork, I came into contact with a man who was to be my field assistant for the whole duration of my fieldwork among the Toka-Leya. But for the loyal services of Mr. Alfred Mutema, of Mufuka's Village, in the Sekute chiefdom, my work might have proved less fruitful. Mr. Mutema's great knowledge and understanding of the laws, customs and traditions of

(iii)

his people was a constant source of pleasure and inspiration to me.

Finally, I wish to thank the many people who have been of assistance to me during my research period in Zambia, as well as during my writing up period in Cambridge and Edinburgh. For lack of space, I am unable to record their names here. But they remain dear to my heart. I would however, like, as a final tribute, to thank my wife, Kasonde, for braving to type my thesis - an undertaking that speaks well for her patience and tolerance.

Kafungulwa Mubitana

Cambridge, July, 1977

ILLUSTRATION ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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A B B R E V I A T I O N S

AME:	African Methodist Episcopal Church.
BC:	Brethren in Christ.
CC:	Church of Christ.
CMML:	Christian Missions in Many Lands.
CMS:	Church Missionary Society.
LMS:	London Missionary Society.
NA:	New Apostolic Church.
PMMS:	Primitive Methodist Missionary Society.
PMS:	Paris Evangelical Missionary Society.
RC, RCC:	Roman Catholic, Roman Catholic Church.
SDA:	Seventh Day Adventist Church.
UCZ:	United Church of Zambia.
UMCA:	Universities Mission to Central Africa.
WT:	Watch Tower

## I N T R O D U C T I O N

### CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE TOKA-LEYA

#### Theoretical considerations

Hitherto, sociological and anthropological studies of Christian missions in Africa have tended to emphasize the effects of missionary proselytizing upon the individual and upon the individual's society.<sup>1</sup> Such studies have been mostly concerned with the significance of conversion, the religious transformation of the individual and segments of the society. Historical studies of missions have concerned themselves largely with describing the establishment and expansion of missions in various parts of Africa, although some have clearly gone beyond this. To my knowledge there are only a few sociological or anthropological studies treating Christian missionaries and their objects of evangelization as a functional whole.<sup>2</sup> In the circumstances Beidelman's pioneering article on the problem is timely. It urges a change of heart on the part of anthropologists to analyse the 'total society', and gives a sound theoretical framework for the study of missions and mission peoples. Beidelman points out that:

Today, we can read anthropological studies of the impact of [administrators, missionaries and traders] upon native populations, but the

- 
1. Robin Horton has written an excellent analytical article in this respect on changes in Kalabari religious attitudes and beliefs. (Horton, R. 1970. 'A hundred years of change in Kalabari religion,' in Middleton, J (Ed.) Black Africa. Also see the following: Baeta, C.G. 1968. Christianity in tropical Africa; Sundkler, B. 1948. Bantu prophets in South Africa.)
  2. The studies by M.L. Daneel (Old and New in Southern Shona independent churches. 1971) and J.V. Taylor and D. Lehmann (Christians of the Copperbelt 1961) strike me as steps in that direction.

focus of such work dims with the colour line. Thus an anthropologist has studied the machinations of the members of a Nigerian emirate but not the tactics of the British Resident and his staff. Another has applied potted Weberian bureaucratic theory to Soga local government but neglected to discuss the British district officers in the same chiefdom. Another asked how Christian Tswana behaved, but not about those missionaries who had converted them.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional one-sided approach to the study of Christian missions raises issues of a theoretical and methodological nature. By isolating the behaviour of the objects of Christianization from that of the agents, and by concentrating upon the study of the former to the exclusion of the latter, the approach presupposes that 'sociological' or 'anthropological' insights may only be gained by viewing the missionary phenomenon from the receiving end. This approach fails to place mission situations or 'problems' in their wider conceptual and sociological dimensions. The missionary is seen only as a remote agent of change, a causal factor in the process of change in both alien individuals and societies. He is rarely treated as a social reality capable of being analysed in his own right, much less as part of a functional whole. As Beidelman has aptly put it:

Anthropologists may have spoken about studying total societies, but they did not seem to consider their compatriots as subjects for wonder and analysis.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly, the responses of the mission peoples to Christianity may be understood, not only in terms of the religious transformation of individuals and their relation to the society in which they live, but also in terms of the missionary attitudes, motives and overt

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1. Beidelman, T.O. 1974. 'Social theory and, the study of christian missions in Africa' in Africa. Vol.XLIV, No. 3 July, 1974. p. 235.

2. Ibid. p. 235.



actions which generate such responses. For instance, the apparent weakening of ancestral cults in some Toka-Leya communities under missionary influence and their survival and sustenance in others under missionaries of a different denomination may be partly because the cults serve or no longer serve a useful purpose in the society, but it may also be due to the effect of the different policies and attitudes of the missionaries. Clearly, the analysis of church policies and missionary attitudes serves a useful purpose in our attempt to understand Toka-Leya responses to missionary Christianity. This kind of relationship between missions and mission peoples spills over into the secular sphere. Thus there are noticeable differences in the way Toka-Leya followers of the Catholic Church and those of the Church of Christ respond to traditional customs such as beer-drinking, traditional dancing, bridewealth, etc. Their attitudes cannot be explained away simply by reference to the psyche of Toka-Leya individuals or to 'internal' factors in the social structure. More appropriately the analysis of the rational and irrational behaviour of the missionaries, rooted in their cultural background, but serving as a model for the mission peoples, could yield deeper insights into the problem.

In Part I of this thesis I present a historical background as well as an ethnographical description of the social structure of the Toka-Leya. The Toka-Leya have had contact with the West since 1855 when Livingstone first visited Shungu. But the transformation of 'traditional' society as a result of contact with the West did not come until the end of the nineteenth century when Shungu came under the rule of the British South Africa Company. To this extent, the picture of the traditional institutions presented is, to a significant extent, a reconstruction. This was thought necessary, as it is against the traditional elements in the social structure that change may be meaningfully determined.



In Part II, I relate the occupation of Toka-Leya territory by the British South Africa Company to the coming of the Protestant missionaries of the Paris Missionary Society and the Church of Christ Mission and the missionaries of the Capuchin Order of the Roman Catholic Church. Quite often, mission studies present the missionary enterprise as a haphazard phenomenon or the work of individuals filled with a burning desire to save lost souls. There are, indeed, many instances which clearly illustrate these two views. But for Central Africa in general, and Zambia in particular, missionary interest there was stepped up in the wake of the movement by the West to partition Africa. In this Section, therefore, I examine the primary motives of missionary societies in Europe and America in sending the missionaries to Africa, as well as the immediate and long term motives of the missionaries themselves.

In the same Part, I examine further the policies of missionary societies, the relations between these bodies and the missionaries in the field over church policies and the realization of missionary goals. I pay particular attention to the relations between the missionaries and the mission peoples over issues relating to the creation of indigenous churches.

In Part III, I consider the strategies of the various missionary groups in the field in spreading their sectarian influence at Shungu, through direct methods of Christianization such as evangelization and the creation of mission communities and Christian settlements, as well as through indirect methods, such as the introduction of schools and literacy, the establishment of health centres, and other social services that were bound to have an impact on the mission peoples. I also consider the inter-denominational rivalry which generated mission strategies and its implication for mission peoples and the image of the churches.

In Part IV, I attempt to analyse the role of Christianity in both past and present Toka-Leya society.

### METHODOLOGY

The research for this thesis was divided into two sections. The first section relates to the fieldwork and the second to archival work.

The fieldwork was undertaken during two separate periods between 1970 and 1976. The first part covered the period October, 1970, to November, 1972, and the second, January, 1975 to August, 1976. I was unable to carry out any meaningful fieldwork between December, 1972 and December, 1974, on account of the demanding nature of my work at the Livingstone Museum, where I am employed as Director. Consequently, I had to ask for a two-year suspension from carrying out research from the University of Edinburgh, which kindly granted my request. I resumed my research when an Administrative Officer was appointed to assist me.

The farthest point in my area of research lay within a radius of 50 miles from my base in Livingstone. More appropriately, Livingstone was centrally placed. The chiefdom of Sekute lay to the west, that of Musokotwane to the north and Mukuni's to the east. Thus I was only able to stay in villages overnight when this was necessary for my investigations. For the most part, I found it quite convenient to set out by Land Rover every morning to carry out my fieldwork, returning at whatever time I felt I had carried out my assignment for the day. This enabled me to fulfil my administrative functions as well.

My general social survey was based on a simple random sample involving 12 (or nearly 15%) of the 82 villages in the 'Leya' part of the Sekute chiefdom. It was based on household units. The kind of information extracted related to ethnic affiliation, sex, kinship, labour history

agricultural activity, puberty, etc. The area was selected for two main reasons.

- (a) As a 'Leya' area, it may be said to be representative of the Leya of the Shungu population as a whole.
- (b) It is part of the Toka Reserve, which includes the 'Toka' chiefdom of Musokotwane. Administratively, this was treated by the colonial government as a unit in relation to the Baleya Reserve which today comprises the Mukuni chiefdom. As a matter of fact, the boundary between the two chiefdoms in the Toka Reserve (i.e. the chiefdoms of Sekute and Musokotwane) has been altered several times in the past as no clear-cut ethnic division can be established. To this extent the Sekute population could be said to form an ethnic bridge with that of Musokotwane.

I deliberately avoided extending my general social survey to other chiefdoms for fear of widening my research field and being overwhelmed by distance. It is easier to make follow-ups on particular data and people in a smaller field than in a wider one. This did not, however, stop me from carrying out interviews with selected people in the other chiefdoms in order to widen my understanding of particular problems.

My special surveys, aimed at obtaining information relating to the religious characteristics of the Toka-Leya were deliberately highly selective. I was concerned with the study of the Toka-Leya in relation to the missionaries. As such, I could only obtain the necessary data by studying those communities under the influence of the missionaries. I selected two communities for a number of reasons. The Kalamba neighbourhood, in the Sekute area, gave me continuity with my general social survey. Secondly, it was the first neighbourhood in the chiefdom to experience missionaries on any significant scale. The

Catholics established their first school and church there in 1937. It has had no resident priest and is today under the supervision of a catechist. The second choice was the Makunka community, some ten miles away from the Kalamba neighbourhood. This community consists of villages and settlements on the Sekute/Musokotwane border. Some of the settlements are in Sekute's chiefdom and others in Musokotwane's. Originally, this area had been under the influence of the Church of Christ Mission. It is now dominated by a Catholic Mission with a resident priest and missionary-artisan. Far from being completely Catholic the Makunka community revealed a diversity of denominational affiliations.

The mission communities in the Musokotwane and Mukuni areas have been studied by the Church of Christ missionary, Stan Shewmaker, and I did not think it necessary to duplicate his study when his information is readily available for use. I do however, recognize the limitations of his surveys which were aimed at establishing church growth rates. Thus made it necessary for me to investigate certain problems relating to the religious characteristics of these areas to fill in the missing data, whenever I felt this to be necessary.

The archival part of my research related mainly to missionary records, but also to district records. The idea of studying the missions at Shungu occurred to me after 1971 - long after I had started my research among the Toka-Leya - as a result of the acquisition by the Livingstone that same year, of a considerable number of original manuscripts, journals, letters and other valuable records from the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society. This missionary society in Zambia had merged with other missionary groups in 1965 to form the United Church of Zambia and the missionary in charge, who had remained in Zambia to train indigenous people for the ministry, as well as to wind up the society's affairs,

wanted to find a home for the records that had remained at Sefula in the Western Province (formerly, Barotseland). He therefore donated them to the Livingstone Museum. The abundant records on Shungu made it worth-while to explore the possibility of looking at my Toka-Leya material in relation to the Christian missions. It turned out that the Church of Christ missionaries did also have a substantial number of records relating to the work of the mission since 1923 and I was readily given access to these. I was less fortunate with the Catholic missionaries who were, with the exception of one or two, quite suspicious about my motives for the study and denied me access to their records. My study suffers to some extent from lack of data relating to the Catholic missionaries.

I was also able to make use of the National Archives. But for the most part, the kind of data I required from there was already in the possession of the History Department of the Livingstone Museum.

Population (1962 census. Northern Rhodesia Government).

<u>chiefdom</u>	<u>population</u>
Mukuni	5,348
Sekute	7,061
Musokotwane	9,227
Total	<u>21,636</u>

#### THE CONCEPT OF 'TOKA-LEYA'

Shungu is inhabited by two ethnic sub-groups, the Leya to the south and the Toka to the north. (See Map 1.) In general, however, the maintenance of these labels is deceptive, as the Leya and the Toka have intermingled to the point that in the context of cultural distinctiveness, the terms are almost meaningless. It is common to find two full brothers applying different ethnic labels to themselves - one calling himself Toka and the other Leya.



Those who inhabit the chiefdoms of Mukuni and Sekute usually call themselves Leya and those in Musokotwane's chiefdom, Toka. As one social anthropologist put it: "the Leya are those that go to the courts of Mukuni and Sekute. The Toka are those that refer their cases to Musokotwane's court."<sup>1</sup> Viewed from this point of view the two labels are of administrative significance only.

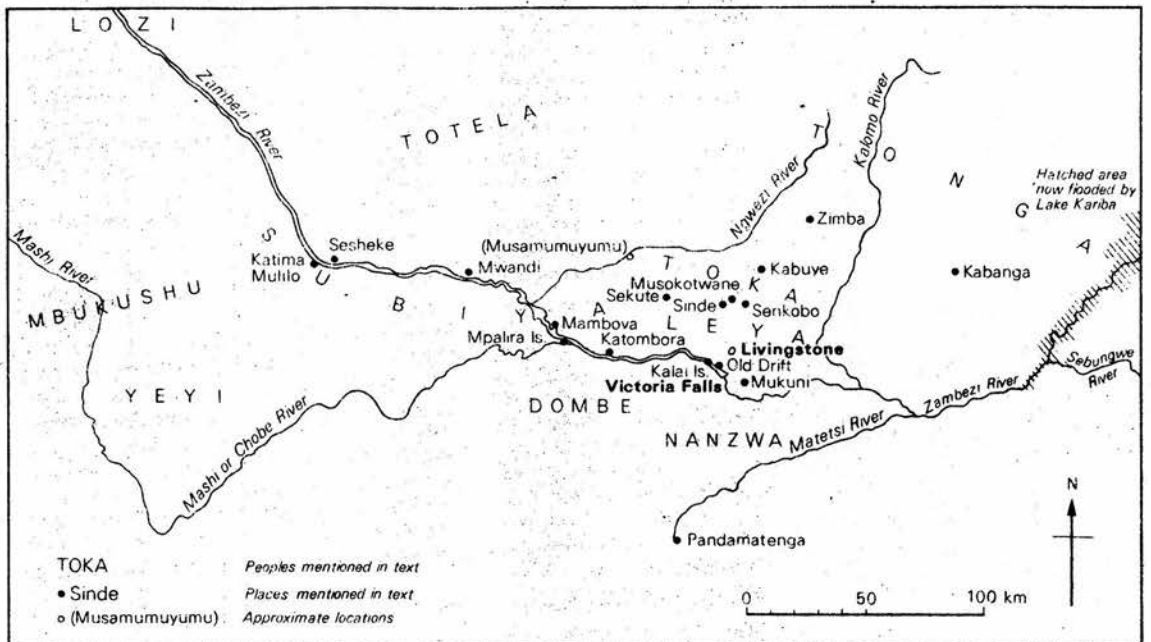
In this study, I apply the term 'Toka-Leya' to describe the Toka and the Leya whom I treat as one social unit,<sup>2</sup> in relation to other ethnic groups. I use the word 'Shungu' which is the local term for the 'Victoria Falls' to refer to the area they inhabit.

Although Shungu is traditionally associated with Toka-Leya, the wars of the nineteenth century, and the migrations of the twentieth century, have brought there a number of emigrants from the Lozi, Kalanga, Nanzwa, Dombe, Yeyi and Nzanza. Thus, in western Shungu, where my social surveys were conducted, although the people refer to themselves generally as Leya or Toka, few of them can claim parents who are both Leya, or Toka or Toka and Leya. Thus in the Sekute sample of the 147 household heads (a household here meaning a functional unit with a head and his or her immediate dependants) only 34 (or 23.13%) claimed Toka or Leya fathers and 51.70% claimed Toka or Leya mothers. In contrast, 26.53% claimed to have been begotten of Lozi fathers while those claiming Subiya fathers constituted 23.13% of the sample.

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1. Holy, L. In a letter to me, dated 17th January, 1977.  
Belfast.

2. They are often referred to in the early missionary and colonial literature as the 'Batoka'. But this term was sometimes applied to the Tonga proper, as well.



MAP 1. SHUNGU AND SURROUNDING COUNTRY



P A R T I

HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Introduction

In the following Chapters I first describe the social and political history of the Toka-Leya, before examining their social structure, with particular reference to economic, political, kinship and religious organization.

## CHAPTER 1

### A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE EARLY HISTORY

Oral tradition<sup>1</sup> gives several versions relating to the early history of the Toka-Leya. These versions tend to reflect the political histories of the royal dynasties of Mukuni, Sekute and Musokotwane, the three dominant chiefships.

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1. Apart from my own collections of the oral traditions of the Toka-Leya, I have made use of the following sources:
- (a) Livingstone, D., and Charles Livingstone. 1866. Narrative of an expedition to the Zambezi and its tributaries.
  - (b) Livingstone, D. 1857. Missionary travels in South Africa.
  - (c) Livingstone, D. (n.d.) Description of the country of the Batoka (MS. Livingstone Museum).
  - (d) Jalla, A.D. 1909. Secaba sa bana ba Malozi (MS. Livingstone Museum).
  - (e) Sekute, Chief Kalonga (n.d.) Simuluho ya Bulena bwa Sileya. (MS. in the chief's possession).
  - (f) Mukuni II, Chief Siloka. 1957. Handbook of the Leya history (MS in the Livingstone Museum.)
  - (g) Sekwaswa, Ex-Headmessenger and Kemwell Mahiritona (c. 1936). History of the Livingstone District. (MS in the Livingstone Museum.)
  - (h) Mpatamatenga, Kambole. (n.d.) Kasimbo ambaenda'abo 2 Vols. (MSS in the Livingstone Museum.)
  - (i) Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa.
  - (j) Mubitana, K. 'Traditional history and ethnography of the Victoria Falls region' in Phillipson, D.W. (Ed.) 1975. Mosi-Oa-Tunya: A handbook to the Victoria Falls region.
  - (k) Holub, E. 1975. Travels north of the Zambezi 1885-6 (Edited by Ladislav Holy).
  - (l) Holub, E. 1976. Seven years in South Africa. Reprint.

Generally speaking, Shungu appears to have originally been populated by a dispersed and probably culturally related people, lacking centralized authority. Later, organized bands of people from outside entered Shungu and imposed their rule upon various parts of Shungu, thus bringing to the area a measure of centralized authority.

The earliest of these organized groups appears to have been that of Mukuni and this is generally accepted all over Shungu. According to oral tradition, the first Mukuni, together with a group of followers branched off from a larger group of Lenje led by a man of the same title, near Kabwe in central Zambia. The Lenje are said to have only arrived there then, having emigrated from southern Congo where they had been part of the Luba empire. The splinter group travelled south in search of territory until they came to settle in the eastern part of Shungu, having first settled in the Gwembe Valley and across the Zambezi near Wankie. At Shungu, they are said to have found a sparse population, which they quickly brought under their political control. All along, they had called themselves 'Lenje', but following the Lozi invasions, they are said to have become known as 'Leya', apparently because the invaders could not pronounce the word 'Lenje' properly.

It was after they had been settled at Shungu for some time that Sekute and his followers are said to have appeared from the west. According to the Sekute version, the first Sekute, then known as Malumbulumbu, came from Lutaka in the Caprivi, which was then under Lozi control. There are two versions relating to his coming to Shungu. One states that he and his people followed the Chobe River and then the Zambezi in their quest for fish and hippopotami, until they came to Shungu. Because of the hostility of Mukuni, they are said to have settled on the islands of the Zambezi, where the fast currents protected them from enemy attack. It is pointed out that

that is why the island of Kalai came to be associated, ritually, with the Sekute dynasty. The second version, which is affected by the royal family, states that when the Lozi (Luyana) king, Ngombala invaded the Leya, he was so impressed by the beauty and riches of Shungu that he wanted to perpetuate Lozi rule over the territory. He chose one, Malumbulumbu from the far corner of his kingdom to act as governor. A woman named Ngonya is said to have ruled the Leya prior to this. She is said to have been living with a man named Balengu,<sup>1</sup> with whom she had had children. But Balengu did not become her true husband.

Malumbulumbu did not overthrow the rule of Ngonya, but is said to have concluded a political alliance with her and ruled the territory jointly. The successive rulers are said to have, in fact been descended from the female offspring of Ngonya whom she had had before the arrival of Mulumbulumbu to Shungu, which, in the circumstances gives the chiefship of Sekute a Leya origin.

Malumbulumbu and the people who came to Shungu with him, are said to have been of Nzanza or Subiya origin. These are some of the men who are said to have been placed in strategic corners of the chiefdom as sub-chiefs (indunas). They included the ancestors of the present day important headmen in the chiefdom - Kooma, Katombora and Sekutenyana.

Two wars are said to have broken out between Mukuni's Leya and those of Sekute, and it would appear that the latter were the losers, even if this is categorically denied (they admit defeat in the first war and claim complete victory in the second!) A significant event took place with the defeat of the Leya of Sekute. Sekute

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1. Oral tradition has it in the Mukuni area that Balengu was one of the incumbents to the Mukuni chiefship. By avoiding to state this, the Sekute version validates the Sekute dynasty's claims to Shungu.

was deprived of his royal drums, which Mukuni adopted as part of his ritual objects. To this day, copies of these drums are kept at the sacred hut near Mukuni's capital. They are sounded when a major event takes place. They were beaten, after a long time, at the funeral of Chief Mukuni Siloka II in 1971.

The oral tradition relating to the Musokotwane dynasty is vague and contradictory - as indeed are those histories relating to Mukuni and Sekute, but to a lesser extent. The most plausible theory is that the first Musokotwane was appointed chief by the Lozi to see to their interests in northern Shungu prior to the Kololo invasion. What seems certain, however, is that Syanalumba, the first Musokotwane, was the son of a Tonga commoner, Siamono of Kabanga to the far north-east of Shungu.

During the rule of the Kololo, Simukali, Syanalumba's son collaborated with the invaders to the extent of being appointed a 'paramount' chief over all the other chiefs.

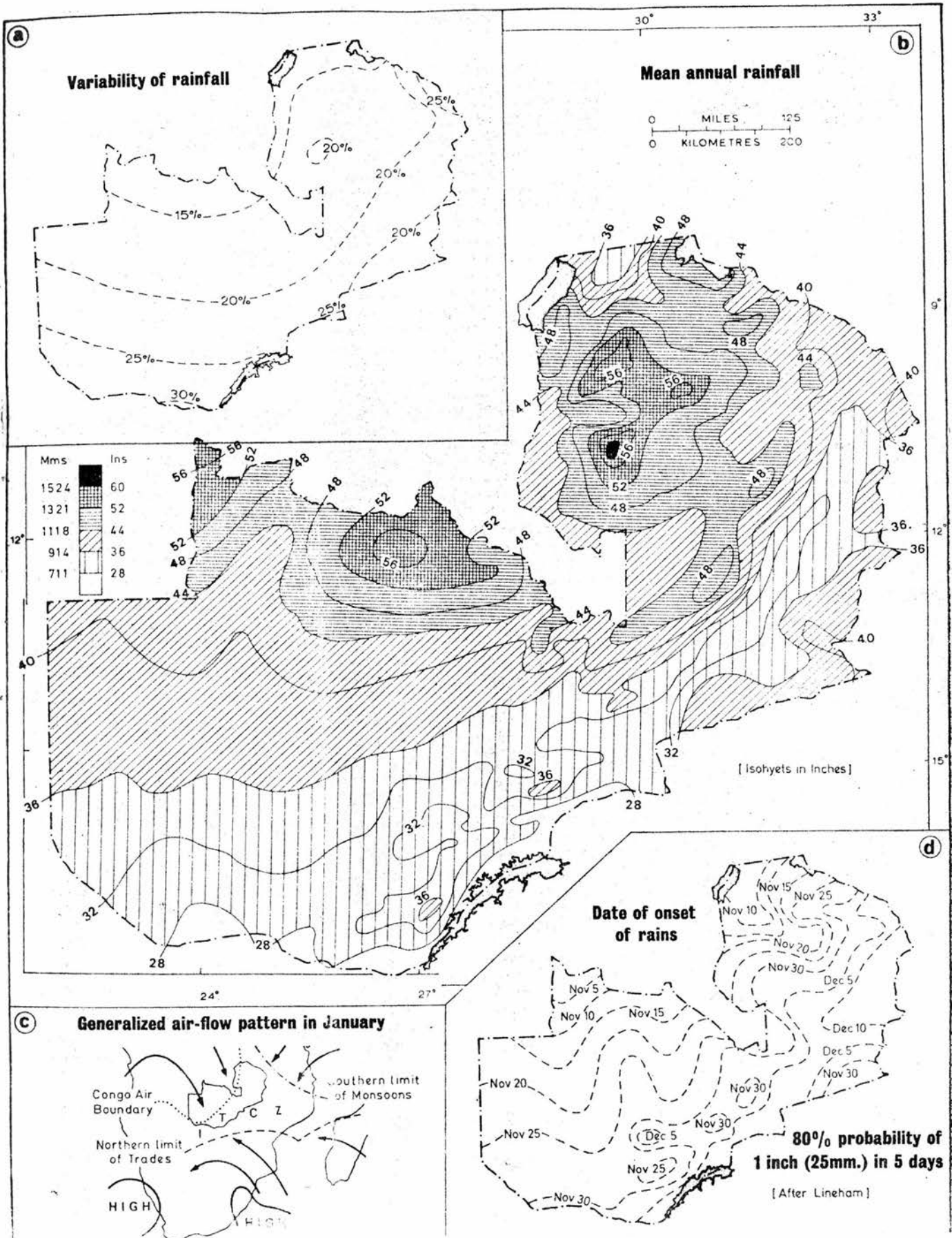
The Toka, with whom the Musokotwane dynasty is associated, claim to have emigrated, like the first Musokotwane, from the Kabanga area in search of land to settle on. The first group is said to have been under the leadership of a man named Kasimbo who was to become the first Musokotwane's maternal uncle. They are then said to have been known as Tonga. But the invading Kololo or Lozi are, as in the case of the Leya, said to have been unable to pronounce the word 'Tonga' properly. The Tonga of Shungu thus became known as 'Toka', a term that is still applied to them today.

There has been much intermarriage between the ruling clans as well as the common Toka and Leya. Moreover, During the wars of the nineteenth century, the Shungu population became disrupted and took refuge in various

enclaves, which added to the ethnic intermingling. The boundaries of the chiefdoms have been altered from time to time, and new chiefdoms have emerged. Thus in late nineteenth century, a chiefdom, under Siakasipa, emerged from the area claimed by Musokotwane. Later, when the British South Africa Company took political control of Shungu, a new chiefdom, including the traditional territories of Mukuni and Musokotwane and a large section of the population of Sekute, was created under Katapazi. But both these new chiefdoms have since been abolished.

A brief reference may be made to the history of the Sekute chiefship between the Kololo invasion of Shungu, which most historians place at 1825-30, and 1864 when they were finally driven away by the Lozi. Sekute and a group of survivors had been driven into exile by Sebitwane for assisting his enemies. When Sekute (Mungala) finally returned, he went to live in the Western Province (Barotseland), probably because he could establish no claims to Shungu territory, having been away for so long. Eventually, King Lewanika sent him to Shungu as an economic and political representative. He was to guard the ferrying point near the Victoria Falls and levy tax on all the Europeans travellers and prospectors coming to the north of the Zambezi. His area of jurisdiction was confined to the Zambezi bank. It was there that the British South Africa Company officials found him when they established their first administrative post in 1898. Because Sekute had dealt with company officials in his capacity as representative of the King, he was given a larger stake of the territory to the west of Shungu than he had previously controlled.





MAP 2. RAINFALL OF ZAMBIA



## CHAPTER 2

### TOKA-LEYA SOCIAL STRUCTURE

#### 1. TOKA-LEYA ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The Toka-Leya have an economy which is largely dependent upon (a) climatic conditions; (b) the availability and quality of land; (c) livestock and agricultural production, (d) migration and, (e) local trade and industry.

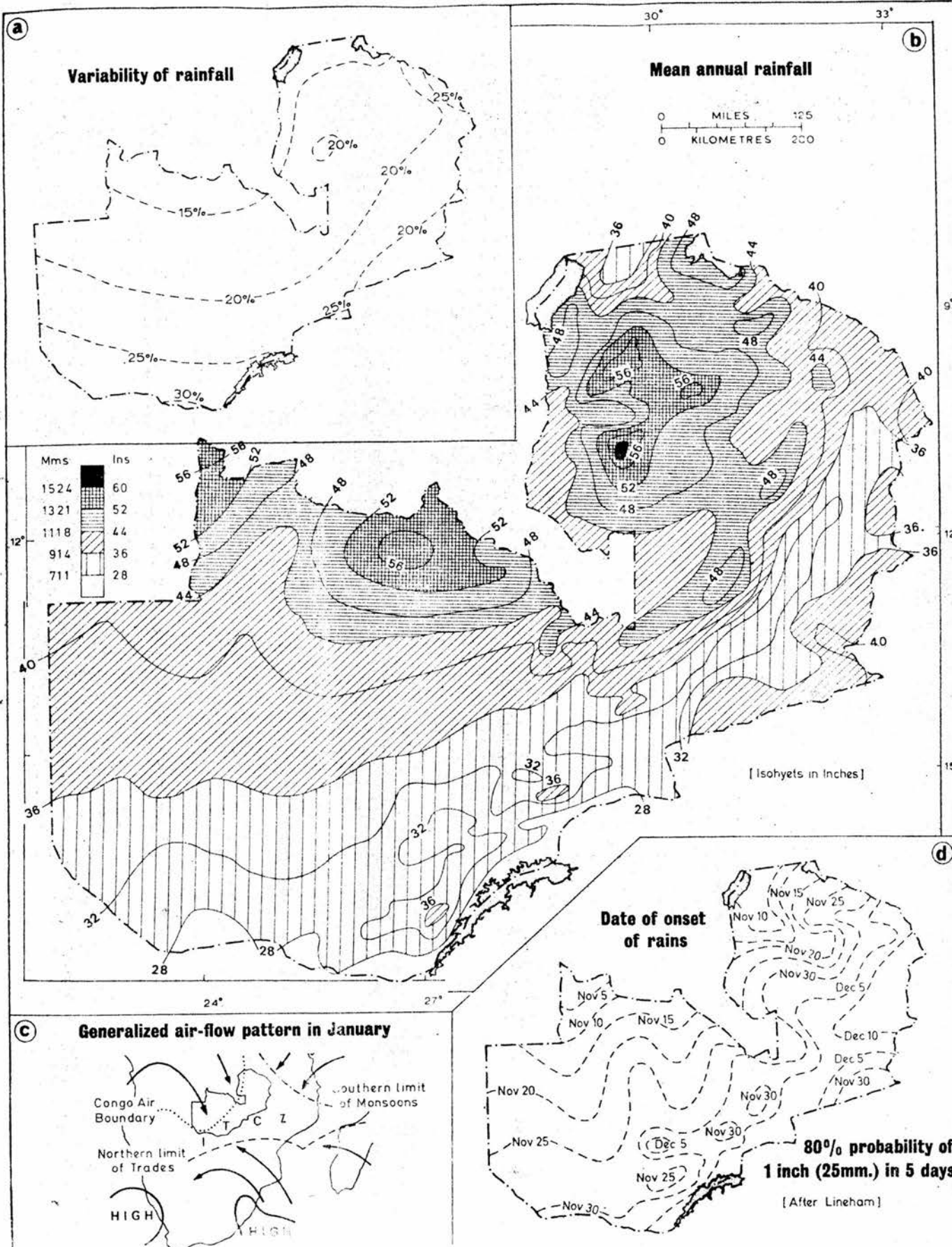
##### (a) Climatic Conditions

The Toka-Leya economy is often precarious because of the relatively low rainfall over the Shungu region, which lies in the driest rain belt in Zambia, averaging some 30 inches per annum (see Map 2). Because of the low rainfall, droughts are frequent, so that agricultural production often fails, causing the notorious Shungu famines.<sup>1</sup> To ensure good rainfall, the Toka-Leya appeal to ancestral spirits. Thus rain-making rites are performed immediately before the onset of the rain season or during a drought. These rites, known as lwiindi, are discussed in the last section of this Chapter.

In general, the wet season, beginning about November and ending about April, is one of agricultural activity while the dry season, which begins in May and ends in October, is one of leisure for the Toka-Leya, characterised by social activities such as beer-drinking and other forms of social intercourse, game-hunting and

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1. The records of the Paris Missionary Society relating to the station of Livingstone indicate that there were persistent droughts at Shungu between 1901 and 1910. This state of affairs strengthened the rain-making cults and precipitated a confrontation between the missionaries and the cult leaders.



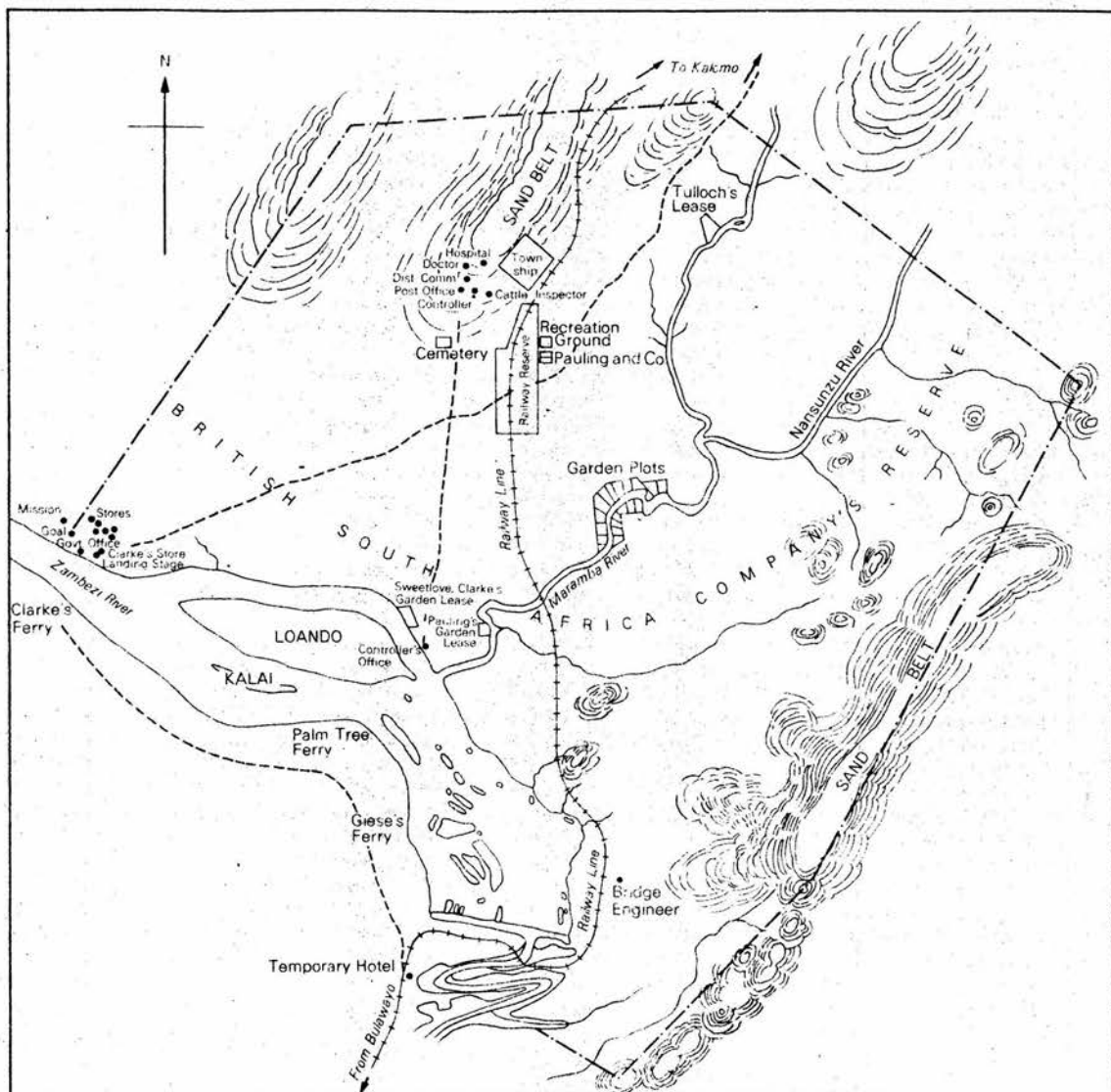
MAP 2. RAINFALL OF ZAMBIA

fishing, etc.

(b) Land

The occupation of the Old Drift by European settlers in 1898 and the appropriation of the "Livingstone/Victoria Falls area" (see Map 3) the same year by the British South Africa Company deprived one section of the Toka-Leya - the Leya of Sekute - of the heart of their territory. In 1914, the Toka-Leya on the outskirts of the Livingstone/Victoria Falls area were forced to move, in order to make way for European settlement. Finally, in 1930, with the creation of the Native Reserves by the Colonial Government, the Toka-Leya living along the Zambezi, on the western side of Livingstone, as well as those living along the railway belt were forced to move elsewhere.

The alienation of land to European settlers at Shungu had far-reaching economic implication for the Toka-Leya. In the first place, they were deprived of the most fertile and well-watered parts of their land. It is significant that the tracts of land appropriated by the Administration or alienated to white farmers had been the most densely populated, prior to the occupation. The Toka-Leya were now forced to live in the Reserves, the greater part of which were unsuitable for agriculture on account of poor soils. There were further disadvantages. Large parts of the Reserves were so remote that it was not easy for peasant farmers to transport agricultural produce to the main markets for sale, as they had done prior to the occupation when they traded it at the market centres of Mosi-Oa-Thunya, Kazungula and Pandamatenka. Stock-rearing, too, became hazardous, as the remote parts of the chiefdoms, particularly those of Musokotwane and Sekute, were infested by the tsetsefly. Further, while the Zambezi and Railway belts are well supplied with running streams, many parts of the reserves are dry and cannot sustain human and stock life. This in turn becomes a source of congestion, as people compete



MAP 3. COMPANY RESERVE

for the few areas which are well supplied with water.

The resentment of the Toka-Leya against the creation of the Reserves and the appropriation of some of their land by the Colonial Administration was aptly put by the then Chief Musokotwane after he and his people were moved from their territory in 1930. At a meeting of the Livingstone Native Welfare Association held on 9th June, 1930, he told his fellow members:

You all know at present they are chasing us from our lands where our forefathers died to lands which are strange to us; where we are not allowed to cut down trees. We get our crops from cutting down trees to make gardens; if we do not cut trees to make gardens, we cannot have crops.<sup>1</sup>

(c) Livestock and Agricultural Production

(i) Livestock production

Livestock production is one of the two major sectors of the Toka-Leya subsistence economy. In the past, it was mainly due to the large herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats the Toka-Leya reared that their territory was raided by the Ndebele, Kololo and Lozi. And because of the favourable grazing conditions of Shungu, the depleted herds soon recovered, only to attract further raids.

Apart from the raids, a second obstacle to the growth of the herds and flocks was the presence of the tsetsefly, which caused the disastrous sleeping sickness. The fly has been eradicated, with the use of cordoning methods, within the immediate Victoria Falls area, although it remains a constant source of danger in the remote areas of chiefs Musokotwane and Sekute.

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1. Chief Musokotwane. Quoted in the Minutes of the Meeting of the Native Welfare Association, held in Livingstone on 9th June, 1930.



In 1931, the cattle population, in relation to the human population, stood as follows:<sup>1</sup>

<u>CHIEFDOM</u>	<u>HUMAN POPULATION</u>	<u>CATTLE POPULATION</u>
Musokotwane	5,000	1,750
Siakasipa	1,300	1,750
Mukuni	2,500	2,650
Katapazi	1,300	1,050
Sekute	2,200	2,060
	<u>12,300</u>	<u>9,260</u>

The cattle population continued to grow steadily and, by 1948, Chief Mukuni was able to report a cattle population of 3,221 in his areas,<sup>2</sup> an increase of 21.5% over the 1931 figure (2,650). Over the same period, the human population in the same chiefdom rose by 33% (the 1948 population being 3,346). In 1949, in the now amalgated chiefdoms of Musokotwane and Siakasipa, the District Cadet Officer, Livingstone, reported a cattle population of 8,068,<sup>3</sup> an increase of 130.5% over the 1931 figure, while the human population rose by 21.1% (the population rose from 6,300 in 1931 to 7,329 in 1949).

To the Toka-Leya, cattle mean security and a man without them is regarded as a poor man, unless he can prove that he has other forms of wealth, such as a good bank balance, or that he runs a prosperous business. Bridewealth is paid for in cattle and, in the past, fines were also expected to be paid in form of head of cattle (today this has largely been replaced by cash payments).

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1. Figures quoted from Map of the Livingstone District produced about 1931.

2. Chief Mukuni Siloka II. Tour Report 6th July, 1948 District Files.

3. From a Livingstone District Report by I.K.C. Sandercock, Cadet Officer. The Report is entitled 'Livestock return for Chief Musokotwane and ex-Chief Siakasipa's areas'. Annexure to Tour Report No.6 of 1949, Livingstone District.

During times of famine cattle are sold to the Cold Storage Board Depot in Livingstone or to individuals owning butcheries or wishing to slaughter for sale or domestic consumption. With the cash obtained, the Toka-Leya are able to purchase food, especially mealie-meal from the shops in nearby Livingstone, or from local shops, to sustain their livelihood until the next harvest. Furthermore, those who have school-going children will often sell cattle to obtain cash for the purchase of uniforms, books and for the sustenance of the children if they go to boarding schools.

Heifers are usually not sold but reserved for reproduction. It is usually the old or wild bulls and oxen that the Toka-Leya will dispense with without feeling they are endangering the survival of their herd. Young oxen are kept for as long as five years to draw the plough during the cultivating season or to act as beasts of burden in general.

In the hilly parts of the chiefdom of Mukuni, and also in the drier parts of the Musokotwane chiefdom, Toka-Leya rear goats which provide them with meat and milk. Goats are also preferred to cattle as ritual animals since they are not worth much in cash value.

There can be no doubt that the three Toka-Leya Reserves are today over-stocked and the quality of the beasts produced is poor. During the dry season, most of the small streams at Shungu dry up, so that only the stock near the Zambezi river or the Sinde, Maramba, Nansanzu and Ngwezi streams, and the Makunka Dam, are well-watered. The majority of the cattle and goats have to rely on the little water from the drilled and dug wells which they share with humans. Further, because Shungu has droughts more often than not, the dry season leaves the cattle with very little grass to feed on. The lack of adequate water and grazing for three to four months a year leaves a number of beasts mangy or dead.



(ii) Agricultural production

Written sources show that agriculture has constituted the main base of the Toka-Leya economy in the past. Thus during their Shungu expedition between 1855 and 1860, the Livingstones were greatly impressed by the agricultural industry of the Toka-Leya. As Charles Livingstone remarked:

...nowhere else has this been the case, not even among the tribes which have been in contact with the Portuguese for 200 years.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Czech traveller Holub found the Toka-Leya cultivating maize, beans, finger-millet, bulrush, groundnuts, cassava, pumpkins and tobacco. Except for tobacco, these crops are still grown at Shungu. Maize, finger-millet and bulrush, in particular, form the staple crops and, together with beans and groundnuts, they also constitute cash crops among the relatively prosperous Toka-Leya.

Of the 148 household heads in the Sekute sample, 136 (or 92.52%) actually owned gardens where they cultivated crops of different kinds. Of these, 131 (or 89.11%) cultivated maize; 66 (or 44.90%) cultivated finger-millet or bulrush and 60 (or 40.82%) cultivated a combination of maize, finger-millet or bulrush.

Relatively little surplus produce is grown as the produce records of the 136 garden owners show. Thus only 11 (or 8.40%) of the 131 maize growers had surplus produce to sell. The biggest producer was able to sell only 82 bags. Of the 52 household heads who produced beans only 1 (or 1.92%) produced a surplus for sale while of the 54 who cultivated groundnuts, only 3 (or 5.58%) produced a surplus for sale. I believe that the state of the economy of the Sekute chiefdom is representative of

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1. Livingstone, C. Description of the country of the Batoka.  
Undated MS in the Livingstone Museum Records.

the situation in the other two chiefdoms. The low productivity of Shungu in terms of cash crops, is due to several factors, the low rainfall apart. Reference has already been made to the effect of the Native Reserves in stifling agriculture due to the scarcity of suitable land for cultivation. There are other factors as well. For instance few Toka-Leya appear to employ improved agricultural methods, even though each Reserve has agricultural supervisors to assist those interested. It is significant that those who were able to sell surplus produce had sought the assistance of the agricultural supervisor stationed at Makunka.

There is, today, little arable land that has not already been exploited at Shungu, and the younger generations find it difficult to fit themselves into the Reserves system. If they do not emigrate to the urban areas for employment, their only hope of obtaining pieces of land for cultivation is through their relatives who sub-divide their own garden plots and share them out. But this process cannot go on indefinitely as the plots get smaller and smaller as sub-divisions are made and the yearly produce correspondingly so. Alternatively, young men may inherit garden plots from their relatives, mainly their parents or parents-in-law.

Alfred Sikokwane of Chief Sekute's area inherited his main garden along the Kalamba (or Bovu) dambo from his father who died in 1935. Although he has moved away from the Kalamba neighbourhood twice before, he has retained his right to the inherited piece of land, which, today, he has sub-divided between himself, his younger brother, and his eldest son. Alfred is evidently worried about his younger sons, one of whom is married, for he cannot provide them with gardens. He therefore wants them to go out to seek employment in Livingstone.

(d) Labour and Migration

Two major factors were responsible for the migration of Toka-Leya males to the urban areas or European-owned farms. These were (i) Government taxation, (ii) the growing pressure on the land in the Native Reserves.

(i) Government taxation

The British South Africa Company introduced taxation for Africans within a few years of its occupation of Shungu - a measure that was to have far-reaching implications for the rural population. Young men went out to the industrial areas and farms to seek employment and earn cash to enable them to pay Government taxes. Journeying through the chiefdom of Mukuni in 1907, the missionary Louis Jalla remarked on the absence of the menfolk from the villages:

... we went through many hamlets, most of them peopled by women, the men having gone to work to pay their tax.<sup>1</sup>

Reports by District Officers relating to the problem of migration at Shungu as a consequence of Government taxation confirm this exodus by the male population. In 1948, for instance, the District Officer, Livingstone District, reported that in the amalgamated chiefdoms of Musokotwane and Siakasipa, "Approximately 50% of the total male population is away at work for wages. Approximately 60% of the possible male population is away at work for wages".<sup>2</sup> The taxation of rural inhabitants was abolished immediately before Zambia attained self-government. Yet today, Toka-Leya males and females are emigrating to the employment centres in urban areas as well as on farms because the land in the Reserves cannot support them.

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1. From a letter by Louis Jalla, dated Livingstone, 20th September, 1907, In News of the Zambezi. December, 1907, p. 100.

2. From a Livingstone District Report by I.K.C. Sandercock, Cardet Officer, entitled Labour and population statistics. Annexure VIII to Tour Report No. 6 of 1949.

(ii) Pressure on the land in the Reserves

Although the system of Reserves created by the Colonial Government for the different ethnic groups of Northern Rhodesia is an embarrassment to the present Zambian Government, it has yet to be abolished for a more suitable arrangement. In the meantime, however, the various ethnic groups have to work within the context of the Reserves, created some 47 years ago, despite the growth in population. Thus, the Toka-Leya population in the three Shungu Reserves, which stood at 12,300 in 1931, has nearly doubled today to approximately 22,000 without a corresponding increase in the land. The resulting congestion forces many young men and women to emigrate and seek work in the industrial centres in order to support themselves and their families. Nearly 64.0% of the 125 male household heads in the Sekute sample had at one time or another left their homes to work in urban areas or on European-owned farms. The proportion of migrants is probably higher among today's younger population since literacy gives them a greater chance of landing jobs in the commercial and industrial towns.

(e) Local Trade and Industry

A few Toka-Leya run small grocer's businesses where they sell cheap wares such as enamel plates and mugs; chitenge cloth, clothing and other essential commodities such as paraffin, candles, soap, sugar, salt and matches. Others have set up beer halls where they sell commercially-brewed traditional beer (chibuku) from the National Breweries of Zambia. But the profits realised in these ventures are relatively low.

Households will supplement their cash earnings by brewing beer which is sold to the neighbours directly or through 'sun-downers' and 'tea-parties'. Such business enterprises are managed by a man's wife or wives and will bring a household as much as (K15 (about £10)) per brew.

Another form of business enterprise engaged in by women and children is the sale of wild fruit, especially the Muhuluhulu, the Musuku and the Mumonsomonso. These are seasonal fruits which are sold to the townspeople in Livingstone in open streets in the suburbs or at market-places. As the fruits ripen in the Spring (September to November) or in the Summer (December to February) when food is critically short throughout Toka-Leya country, the cash realised from its sale is used to purchase mealie-meal and other foodstuffs.

Emigrant communities among the Leya, because they are beset with disadvantages in the more traditional economic activities, such as cattle-rearing, often utilize the skills they have brought with them from their countries or provinces of origin. A few Toka-Leya do, indeed, practise skills that earn them some cash (e.g. basketry, pottery, mat-making and carving of stools, drums, mortars and pestles). But the major part of this type of business is in <sup>the</sup> hands of foreigners. Thus Ndebele emigrants specialize in basket-making and broom-making, using the raw materials from the local environment. Lovale, Mbunda, Chokwe and Luchazi emigrants specialise in the making of curios such as mukenge trays and baskets; carved images of people and animals; hoes and axes, masks, etc. These items are sold mainly to the tourists in Livingstone or to the people of Livingstone in general. The crafts business has proved so popular and rewarding that whole villages are emerging in Toka-Leya territory that are devoted wholly to the making of trade crafts. This is particularly the case in the Musokotwane and Mukuni chiefdoms. Mukuni's village, for instance, is turning into a popular crafts centre.

The above short review of the economic organization reveals that the Toka-Leya have a subsistence economy, based on the cultivation of staple crops such as maize, millet, sorghum and bulrush, and the rearing of livestock.



These occupations are adversely affected by climatic factors as well as the poverty and shortage of land. The unpredictability of the rain, in particular, has far-reaching consequences for the Toka-Leya cult of rain-making.

## 2. TOKA-LEYA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Toka-Leya political organization is based on a hierarchy of three territorial units, all of which are interrelated. These are the hamlet or village, the neighbourhood and the chiefdom. Political unity at various territorial levels is achieved through kinship, economic and ritual processes.

### (a) The hamlet or village (muunzi)

In the past, the hamlet was the smallest unit in Toka-Leya political organization. This consisted of a male head, his wife or wives and children or relatives' children, and one or more other families which acknowledged the ritual and political authority of the hamlet head. But with the colonial occupation of Northern Rhodesia, a distinction was made between 'hamlet' and 'village'. A hamlet was defined as a residential unit with less than ten adult males and had no legal status as an 'administrative' unit. A village was a residential unit with ten or more adult males and was recognized by registration as an administrative unit. Its head was also named 'headman' (sibbuku, meaning man of the book), and was responsible to the District Authorities, through his chief. In actual fact, a Toka-Leya village today is but a large-scale hamlet of the pre-colonial times. Although initially, colonial administrators may have incorporated a number of discreet hamlets together to form villages, today villages are formed voluntarily, in much the same way as they were in the past. The so-called hamlets among the Toka-Leya today, which are component parts of villages, are but splinter units from the main village unit. But most

villages are built on a compact basis.

Splinter units may be recognized as separate villages, on application to the District Office in Livingstone, if they can claim a following of 10 adult males or more. But in the past, such units were recognized as independent hamlets as soon as they moved away from one site to another, and the heads were able to assert their own political authority and ritual symbols.

The majority of Toka-Leya hamlets or villages are inhabited by people with strong ties of kinship, largely patrilineally determined. Residence, too, is more patrilocal than anything else. (See Chart 1 of Maibwe village.) Because of the strong ties of kinship between the residents, Toka-Leya hamlets or villages form the most important basic political, economic and religious units. The village headman mediates on behalf of the inhabitants of his village with the highest political authority in the chiefdom - the neighbourhood head or the chief - or with the District Administration. He settles disputes occurring within his village, distributes gardens to the new comers and offers libation and sacrifice to his ancestors on behalf of the inhabitants of his village.

(b) The neighbourhood

According to Colson<sup>1</sup> (who is echoed by S. Shewmaker<sup>2</sup>), the Plateau Tonga term for 'neighbourhood' is katongo or tongo and that of the neighbourhood head is sikatongo. The Toka-Leya use the term tongo to describe an abandoned neighbourhood and sikatongo, therefore, means somebody who used to be the leader of a neighbourhood that has since been abandoned. In fact, the word tongo could also be applied to a village site that has been abandoned.

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1. Colson, E. 1962. The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia and her other publications, generally, on the Plateau and Gwembe Tonga.

2. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Tonga Christianity p. 15  
Shewmaker also uses the term chisi.



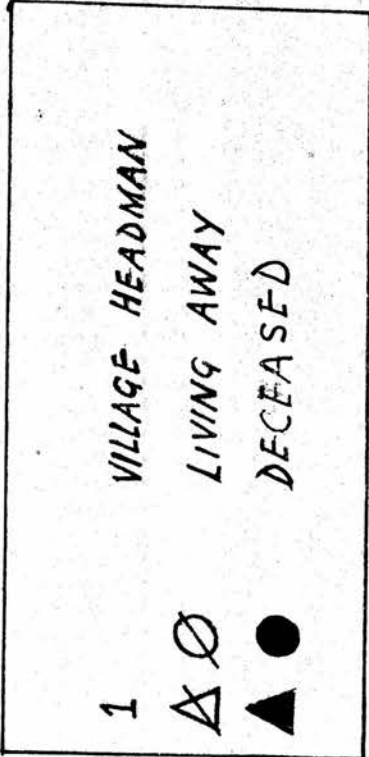
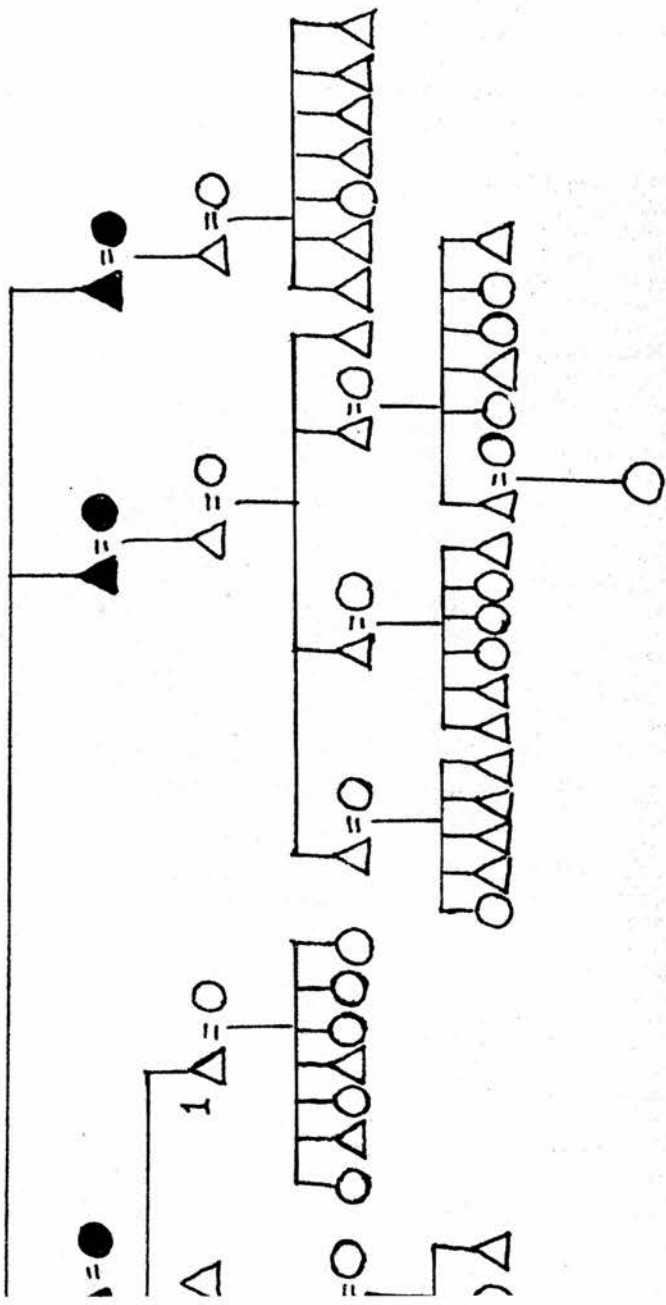


CHART 1

This is the sense in which the neighbouring Ila also use the term. Among the Tonga-speaking Toka-Leya, I could find no term for an occupied neighbourhood other than inyika, nyika (land) bbazu lye nyika (portion of land) or cisi (chiefdom or country).

A Toka-Leya neighbourhood might comprise as few as three ~~villages with 100 residents or less~~. On the other hand, it might have as many as thirty villages, with a population of over 1,000, as is the case with the Makunka neighbourhood. It may be physically separated from other neighbourhoods by natural features such as streams, dambos, woodlands or a range of hills. The Kalamba neighbourhood, which is dominated by chief Sekute's village, has nine villages overlooking a dambo - the Kalamba or Bovu dambo - which has fertile soil for cultivation as well as suitable grazing land. It is separated from other neighbourhoods by thick forests to the south, west and north, and by a sand belt, unsuitable for human habitation, to the east.

A man might become village or neighbourhood leader by opening up virgin territory for residence. But on his death, the leadership became hereditary. A chief may also appoint a man - a trusted foreigner or a member of the royal house - to neighbourhood leadership. Thereafter the position became hereditary.

When a man opens up a neighbourhood, the people who come to join him are often his kinsmen, although others may also be welcome. Such a neighbourhood expresses its unity territorially as well as genealogically. When a neighbourhood head dies, the leadership passes on to a relative of his. In the past, a brother or sister's son usually succeeded him. But the neighbourhood continues to be identified with the spirit of the original founder, and ritual activity is centred around his shrine. Even after a neighbourhood has been abandoned it may still be known as the tongo of the original founder

whose descendants may reclaim it in future. People unrelated to the original founder may not settle there on their own without special permission from a living senior member of the founder's lineage.

A leader pays allegiance to the chief who claims ownership of the territory in which the neighbourhood over which he has jurisdiction is situated. The chief in turn recognises the jurisdiction of the neighbourhood leader over many spheres of action, although such jurisdiction is necessarily bound to be limited.

A man appointed by the chief from one of the senior royal lineages to a neighbourhood leadership will often have a number of close relatives placed in various parts of the neighbourhood as village headmen or as his 'eyes'. It is through these that the political unity of the neighbourhood within the chiefdom will largely be expressed. The appointment of a neighbourhood leader by a chief is aimed at achieving a similar end for the chiefdom.

It is clear from the above that in the past, a Toka-Leya neighbourhood functioned like a chiefdom, but on a smaller scale, while the neighbourhood leader had the political and ritual status of a chief, in so far as village headmen in his neighbourhood looked up to him for political and ritual guidance. But unlike the chief who often controlled more than one neighbourhood, such a leader only controlled a single one. Furthermore he was not the ultimate political and ritual authority, as he had to refer important political decisions and in rare cases, ritual matters, to the chief. Today, however, the neighbourhood has been divested of its political significance as a result of the colonial policy of recognizing only villages and chiefdoms as administrative units. Neighbourhood leaders may still be found in some of the older settlements. But as has already been indicated,

their political office was/<sup>not</sup>recognized by the Colonial Administration, so that their functions have since been confined to the ritual field.

The independent authority of the neighbourhood leaders in the ritual field may be gauged from the case of Chief Musokotwane and Headman Mujala. Prior to the colonial occupation, the two had occupied separate neighbourhoods, although Mujala had paid allegiance to Musokotwane. After the occupation, Musokotwane and the core of his kinsmen who occupied the original Lukuni area (which today forms part of the Airport and a conservation area), were forced to move out and resettled on territory that formed part of the neighbourhood of Mujala. Musokotwane, despite his political superiority, has not been recognized as ritually competent on Mujala's territory, so that the latter has continued to exercise ritual authority over the land for the benefit of all, including the chief and his kinsmen.

(c) The chiefdom

The chiefdom was the widest political unit. Unlike the neighbourhood which exhibited a high degree of corporateness in the spheres of kinship, economy, war and ritual, the chiefdom originally acted corporately only in extreme cases involving, for instance, war, drought, famine or epidemics. For the most part each neighbourhood acted as a political entity. Indeed, it was not uncommon for such political entities to declare themselves independent of the authority of the chief when the leaders felt themselves strong enough to stand on their own two feet.

Today the selection of a chief is not left to members of the royal family entirely. The State must approve the appointment. Originally, however, the head of a chiefdom was selected from the senior house of the lineage. It would appear that both the Toka and Leya

followed the matrilineal principle of succession, although the system has gradually changed in favour of patrilineal succession for all the three Toka-Leya chiefships. The chief's own lineage members, who were widely dispersed in the chiefdom - as neighbourhood leaders or ordinary residents - formed the core of the political hierarchy to ensure the continued existence and unity of the chiefdom.

Because a chiefdom usually incorporated two or more neighbourhoods, a chief's political authority was much greater than that of a neighbourhood leader. In the chiefdoms of Mukuni and Sekute, however, this authority was divided between the chief and a priestess who was usually the chief's sister or his father's sister. I shall discuss this aspect of Leya political authority shortly, but for the moment I want to consider the chief's role in the chiefdom.

Generally speaking, the chief was the apical authority in the political, judicial and ritual hierarchy. He took major decisions affecting the chiefdom as a whole, as for instance, the waging of war or defence of the territory. His court was the highest court of appeal in the chiefdom and cases of murder and witchcraft were often referred to him by the neighbourhood leader. Only he could decide upon matters relating to the execution of convicted criminals. In return for his services, the chief was accorded the highest respect in the chiefdom. He was allowed to exact tribute from his subjects in crop produce, cattle, hoes, axes, or other items of economic or social value.

The chief did not, however, take political or judicial decisions by himself. He was assisted in this by a number of counsellors or advisers. This number varied from chiefdom to chiefdom. Chief Mukuni, for instance, had one chief advisor, as well as twelve others



apart from the priestess Bedyango. Both Chief Musokotwane and chief Sekute appear to have had fewer advisers.

In the nineteenth century, the judicial hierarchy within Toka-Leya chief's courts resembled that of the Lozi - undoubtedly the result of many years of Lozi hegemony over a basically segmentary society. The chief was at the very top of the hierarchy, followed by his chief adviser and then the other advisers, all of whom were drawn from men of social standing such as the chief's relatives, neighbourhood leaders and village headmen. The choice of the chief's advisers was an issue of vital importance to all the inhabitants of the chiefdom as the administration of justice depended on their dispositions. The chief's adviser, in particular, was chosen by the important men in the chiefdom, as a District Commissioner for Livingstone explained in 1949:

It appears that the local custom has been for the important men of each chief's area to choose a man to be the chief's adviser, and the chief is expected to accept that man and use him as an adviser. A man known to be at loggerheads with the chief is not chosen. It is not a hereditary position in any way, and any man with the necessary personal qualities is eligible.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly the choice of the chief's principal adviser was left to people other than the chief himself to avoid the latter selecting a man who might be inclined to put forward the chief's views in all cases, rather than one who owed his office and loyalty to the entire chiefdom. Admittedly, care was taken to find a man who was not too opposed to the particular chief, as this might create conflict. The election of the other advisers, however, was a different matter, as the customary requirement was

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1. District Commissioner, Livingstone. Reply to Provincial Commissioner's comments. (Livingstone Tour Report No. 6/49. Annexure No. 1. Native Authority. 1949).

that only the principal adviser be chosen by the people for the chief. Thus:

...the Chief and the 'people's choice' are each at liberty to co-opt other persons of sense and experience when they feel the need for more advice.<sup>1</sup>

I referred earlier to the division of political authority between the chief and the royal priestess in the chiefdoms of Mukuni and Sekute, where the priestesses Bedyango and Ina-Sing'andu, respectively, exerted political influence. Although their main role was ritual, they nevertheless played political roles in censuring the chief's actions on any issue, if these were thought to be injurious to the welfare of the chiefdom. In the Mukuni chiefdom where the priestess Bedyango wielded a great deal of power, the rituals of rain-making, crop growth, harvest, etc, organized and officiated by her on a chiefdom basis, were a politically unifying factor. At these rituals, previous incumbents to the Mukuniship are the central ancestral figures but other departed lineage-cum-territorial leaders of the chiefdom are mentioned, so that they are an integral feature of the rituals. This is illustrated by the following song, sung during the rain-making ceremony. (A similar song is sung by the people of Sekute although some minor changes occur in the names of the ancestors mentioned. Interestingly, some ancestral names such as those of Balengu and Namusaba appear in both versions.) I render the words in both Tonga and English, to allow for comparison in case of vagueness in the translation.

Tobana Sinkubile,  
Muntu ukede mwivu.  
Tobana Syuungu mufu  
Muumi nguwa kalunda.

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1. Ibid.



Tobana koo Maimbo,  
Atwiinda nda twiimbe.  
Tobana koo zilafwa,  
Mizimu zisiila swe

Ndiswe be cheembe citabosya,  
Mutwengombe ciluutema.  
Tobana koo Namusaba,  
Tobana koo Nachidenda.

Balasabalangana bakasaba lubono.  
Inkondeele izwa amusa,  
Iyoaloka kwa Nachaanga.  
Tweelelezye maundu.

Watupa koomboombu.  
Yakayayi yali kwaambwa engozi ?  
Waambelele kwaamba ndakupa mwaince wangu,  
Ndakupa Ngonya Munyama.

Ndakupa Mukacucu  
Wakaula tombwe wakati katufweba O-Balengu  
Tobana Sinkubile, o-muntu ukede mwivu,  
Tuyanda mvula tunywe maanzi !

Nobecheembe chitabosya mutwengombe,  
Chilatemauna noba muse.  
Nobana Muziya, amutupe maanzi tunywe !  
Twakomba, tobegulu lyako-Siasuntu,  
Lyatakaala munyoko  
Twakomba amutupe maanzi tunywe !

We, the children of Sinkubile,  
The great one who sits in the earth,  
We, the children of the dead Shungu,  
For the live one is of Kalunda.  
We, the children of Maimbo,  
We sing wherever we pass.

We, the children of the departed,  
That leave their mizimu with us.  
We of the terrible axe,  
Which will sever even the bull's head.  
We, the children of Namusaba,  
And of Nachidenda.  
They will disperse in all directions,  
Those that have abused the generosity of  
the departed.  
The influence of the dead begins here,  
And spreads as far as Nachaanga's.  
Let us scale the forests.  
You have given us a pot of beer.  
Where is the pot bound in bark-string ?  
Prayer-maker, say the words and I shall give  
you my younger sister.  
I will give you my Ngonya Munyama.  
I will give you my Mukacucu.  
You bought some tobacco so that we might smoke  
it with Balengu.  
We, the children of Sinkubile !  
The great one who sits in the earth.  
We want rain for we are thirsty !  
You, of the dangerous axe which will sever  
the bull's head;  
The axe that will even cut through a heap  
of sand.  
You, of Muziya, give us water to drink !  
We, of the neighbourhood of Siasuntu clap  
our hands before you;  
The neighbourhood that your brother ruled so well.  
We pray, give us water to drink, for we are thirsty !

The symbolism of this song is clear. It brings out features relating to the central importance of the royal shrine, the multiplicity of the ancestors and the unity of the supernatural order. The central importance of the royal shrine may be equated to the central authority of

the chief, whose influence spreads from the chief's residence to all corners of his chiefdom. The multiplicity of the ancestors may be equated to the multiplicity of neighbourhoods of which the ancestors are the spiritual leaders, and the unity of the spiritual order may be seen in terms of the unity of the chiefdom as a whole.

Seen from the above point of view, the role of the priestess in the maintenance of the unity of the chiefdom was very significant.

Finally, I wish to consider the stratification of Toka-Leya society, a social phenomenon which appears to have become pronounced for some time during the second half of the nineteenth century. The political and judicial hierarchy of the Toka-Leya has already been discussed and, in general, the offices of chief, neighbourhood leader and village or hamlet head provide a framework within which the stratification of the society may be considered.

The chiefs and people of royal birth, together with their families were accorded the highest status in Toka-Leya society. They were differentiated from the rest of society by the magical and spiritual qualities associated with them, as well as their material possessions. Normally, a chief was expected to have several wives (Musokotwane had eight in 1886).<sup>1</sup> In Toka-Leya doctrine, the possession of so many wives is a reflection of a man's material wealth, for only a wealthy man can afford to look after so many wives and satisfy their material needs. It is also a reflection of a man's connections in society, as the wives are selected from the various neighbourhoods. The chief members of royal houses also distinguished themselves from their subjects by

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1. Holub, E. 1975. Travels north of the Zambezi. p. 32

their dress styles. They, for instance, were the recipients of the European clothing paid as tribute by passing European traders. They also possessed guns of European manufacture and wore impande shells, which were highly prized in society, and generally permitted no commoners to be in possession of such articles. According to Holub, the impande shell was so highly valued at Shungu because the Toka-Leya "believe that it protects them against all kinds of evils, diseases, misfortunes, persecutions by wild animals and enemies and even against the bullet of the white man".<sup>1</sup> Impande shells might be worn by the wives and children of Toka-Leya of royal birth. The wives also wore necklaces of glass beads or ivory, copper and brass bangles, etc., which ordinary women were not allowed to wear.<sup>2</sup>

The second stratum of society comprised those Toka-Leya who neither had royal nor slave connections - the freemen. In general, freemen could marry into royal houses and members of the latter could also obtain wives from the families of the former. This social stratum might also include foreigners who settled in the community as freemen.

The third social stratum comprised serfs<sup>3</sup> and slaves. These were, according to Holub, usually the descendants "of former slaves or the children of neighbouring tribes whom those tribes themselves sell to the Matoka".<sup>4</sup> The slaves were usually the possession of chiefs or worthy families. The women slaves were assigned to perform domestic duties in households while the men slaves performed more strenuous jobs such as clearing fields and acting as porters for their masters on long-distance trade missions.

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1. Ibid. p.52

2. Ibid. p.44

3. I use the term 'serf' to mean a category of servants with a slightly higher status than the ordinary slave, who had no social rights at all and could not hope for better treatment from his owners.

4. Holub. op. cit. p. 42.

The treatment of the slaves in Toka-Leya society is said to have been much better than in Lozi society<sup>1</sup>. Yet slave owners in Toka-Leya society could sell their slaves at will. They could marry their women slaves off to their male slaves or, indeed, keep them as concubines. But the children born of a union between a freeman and a slave woman were not accorded a full status in society. They might, for instance, not be allowed to succeed to the position of their father if other relatives of the deceased were about.

As has already been indicated, the stratification of Toka-Leya society became more pronounced during the second half of the nineteenth century. This may have been the result of contact between the Toka-Leya and the invading groups such as the Kololo, Lozi and the Ndebele, among whom slavery was an established institution.

I have described the organizational structure of the Toka-Leya polity and shown that it is based on a hierarchical interrelationship of three territorial units - the hamlet or village, the neighbourhood and the chiefdom. I have also attempted to show the binding forces behind the political organization of the various units. I have shown that economic, kinship and ritual factors maintain the unity of the Toka-Leya village, neighbourhood and chiefdom.

### 3. KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

In introducing Western moral concepts, the missionaries emphasized the notions of sin and guilt, which are based on private judgement and responsibility. Toka-Leya society, like many other African societies, emphasizes the notion

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1. Loc cit.

of collective guilt and responsibility. To this extent the study of the Toka-Leya extended kinship unit will help us to understand a basic conflict within the wider range of relations between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya.

In Toka-Leya society, kinship provides a basis for organized inter-group and inter-personal relationships. In this section I attempt to show how social relations, defined in terms of kinship, bind society together. Descent groups, local units and the family are all aspects of Toka-Leya social organization that are defined by, or based on, kinship.

(a) Descent groups

The Toka-Leya recognize the existence of the clan (mukowa), which is the widest and most enduring kinship unit. The clan extends beyond political, territorial and even ethnic boundaries; so it provides, potentially, the widest scope for action. But, in fact, its wide dispersal renders it ineffective for corporate action in terms of war, for instance. In the past, however, when certain parts of Shungu were dominated by particular clans, corporate action might have been possible on a clan basis. But today, the main feature of the clan is that all clan members uphold rules of exogamy. To this extent, Toka-Leya society is organized into widely dispersed social units of wife-providers and wife-receivers. Each of these units is both a wife-giver and wife-receiver. The social implication of this arrangement is that the group of wife-givers is set off as a unit against that of wife-receivers. Similarly, the prohibition of marriage within the clan binds clan members into closer ties of kinship in much the same way as the incest taboo binds members of a family together.

Recruitment to the clan among the Toka-Leya is today based on patrilineal descent. In Western Shungu, the



Sekute survey showed that of the 147 male and female household heads, 115 (or 78.23%) were affiliated to their fathers' clans, 3 (or 2.04%) stated they belonged to their mothers' clan;<sup>1</sup> 6 (or 4.08%) to the clans of both their fathers and mothers and 24 (or 16.33%) were not sure or did not know what their clans were. One might suppose that this response was occasioned by the high proportion of emigrants to the Sekute area whose descent systems might be largely patrilineal. This may, indeed, be the case but it might be pointed out that Toka-Leya elements in the sample also affiliated themselves to their fathers' clans. Furthermore, my informants from the chiefdoms of Musokotwane and Mukuni, selected for their knowledge of Toka-Leya traditional customs and law, stated that Toka-Leya today affiliate themselves to their fathers' clans, but that in the past, the mothers' clans were socially the more important. The significance of this observation will become apparent when we come to discuss the Toka-Leya lineage system.

There are 11 major clans among the Toka-Leya, each linked to one or more clans in joking partnerships which in the past symbolized alliances for a wide range of purposes. In times of war, a clan might call upon the services of its joking partner and, as there were cross-cutting partnerships within the system of alliances, a clan threatened with war could muster a large defence force from its partners and the partners of its partners, and so forth. (See Diagram 1. Also for comparison, see Elizabeth Colson's Chapter on Plateau Tonga clans in The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia).

A single clan may be known by one or more names and a clan name may be associated with one or more symbols - often wild creatures but also other natural objects or elements. A single clan name may have one or more

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1. It is significant that the three respondents who claimed to belong to the clans of their mothers had emigrant fathers whose clans they did not know.



SOCIAL WORLD

TOTEMIC WORLD

BAANGA, BANSANDA BACHIMBA, BANSAKA, BALOONGO BADENDA BALEYA, LUBONDWE BANCHINDU BANKOMBWE BAZAMBA BOONO, BEETWA	barbel fish, crocodile baboon, monkey elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros gazelle, black ant rain bees, mice crested crane, spring hare cow, lion	BANTANGA BANSANJE, BAUMBE BAYUNI BOONO, BEETWA BAZAMBA BAZAMBA (a) BANCHINDU (b) BANKOMBWE (c) BACHIMBA BANSAKA, BALOONGO. (d) BANSANDA (a) BALEYA, LUBONDWE (b) BACHIMBA, BANSAKA, BALOONGO	hyaena, dog. goat, hornbill bird. cow, lion. crested crane, spring hare. crested crane, spring hare. (a) rain (b) bees, mice (c) baboon, monkey (d) barbel fish, crocodile (a) gazelle black ant (b) baboon, monkey.
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DIAGRAM 1

TOKA-LEYA JOKING PARTNERSHIPS

meanings. Originally, members of a particular clan were forbidden to kill, or partake of the flesh of, their clan symbol or totem. Among the people of the Bazamba clan, for instance, the mpile (spring hare) and the mpuyani (crested crane) were sacred creatures, for they were the clan's totems. As Kambole Mpatamatenga explains:

If 'bampile' are found during the day time, it is bad luck. The 'mpuyani' is also compared to the Zambas. Long time ago if you killed this bird it would be a case. A Muzamba was not allowed to eat a 'mpile', if he did his teeth would all come out.<sup>1</sup>

The special relationships that characterize joking partners in the social world are projected into the symbolic world, so that clan totems are also placed in special relationships to each other (see Diagram 1 ). This has the effect of enabling joking partners to express, in symbolic form, a wide range of attitudes and opinions about each other, that would otherwise be unacceptable in ordinary and undisguised speech. Thus, the critical inter-dependence between members of the Bazamba clan and those of the Bachimba clan is expressed by the former by reference to an imaginary dependence of the Bachimba totem, the baboon or monkey, upon the Bazamba totem, the spring hare:

Listen, you monkeys !  
You who sleep on tree tops !  
Listen, you monkeys,  
Who sleep in the trees !  
When the baboon people begin to starve,  
They pick and eat the faeces of the spring hare,  
Because they do not stink.<sup>2</sup>

Toka-Leya still accept joking relationships, but these are, today, only treated as a reminder of an age when they had the effect of fostering social solidarity.

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1. Mpatamatenga, K. (n.d) Kasimbo ambaendaabo (MS).

2. Ibid.

We have seen, above, that today, the Toka-Leya largely trace their clan descent patrilineally. At a lower level of kinship organization one would expect them to be affiliated to patrilineages. As Robin Fox points out, clans "can be thought of as long-lived lineages"<sup>1</sup>, and that the distinction between lineage and clan "is a technical one"<sup>2</sup>. Thus, just as Toka-Leya clan affiliation has changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, so should lineage affiliation change. In practice, the Toka-Leya do not exactly conform to this equation of change. The process of change in lineage reckoning is only now taking place. As Dr. Ladislav Holy, who has carried out fieldwork in the chieftdom of Musokotwane, states, the Toka have shifted from a 'matrilineal to a cognatic mode of reckoning descent.'<sup>3</sup> If this be the case, why are the Toka not actually divided about clan affiliation? Why should they all appear to think that their descent groups, in as far as the clans are concerned, are patrilineally determined? One answer I can think of is that, in saying they belong to their fathers' clans, the Toka-Leya are only underlining the increasing importance of the agnatic kinship unit and the weakening of the matrilineal kinship unit.

In a general way, a Toka-Leya today regards himself as a member of both his patrilineal and matrilineal kin and both are called his mukowa. In theory, he has as many rights and obligations in his matrilineal group as in his patrilineal unit. Yet in practice, the scale weighs in favour of the patrilineal group, at least as far as inheritance and succession are concerned. Again, as Dr. Holy puts it, there is a shift "from uterine to agnatic succession and inheritance ... as a result of modern economic development".<sup>4</sup> My own data from

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1. Fox, R. 1967. Kinship and marriage. p. 90.

2. Ibid. p. 123

3. Holy, L. In a letter to me, dated 17th January, 1977.

4. Ibid.

Western Shungu would confirm this trend. Thus of the 119 adult male household heads in the Sekute census, 39 had at one time or another succeeded male kin. Of these 37 (or 94.87%) succeeded their agnatic kin, and only 2 (or 5.13%) succeeded matrilineal kin. Among the Toka-Leya, heirs are also the property inheritors, although other kin also have a claim to the deceased's estate.

As a kinship unit, the minimal descent group, whether this be the patrilineage or the matrilineage, acts corporately over matters relating to succession, inheritance and vengeance (in the past) and ritual. Thus the death of a member of the group is of concern to all members of such a group. They converge on the scene of the funeral where they jointly choose his successor and heirs. All members of the group have an obligation to offer assistance to one another in all kinds of situations and have an obligation to maintain, as a group, the ancestral shrine and perform certain rites occasionally to ask for ancestral favour.

A minimal descent unit usually has a leader who presides, for the unit as a whole, over a wide range of issues of interest to its survival. But in general, Toka-Leya descent groups are characterised by competition for leadership between the senior members of the dominant lineages within the main lineage. A lineage today is not often a local kinship unit but may be dispersed over a wide area, although not to the same extent as the clan.

(b) The local kinship unit

Local units such as hamlets and villages, as has already been pointed out in the section relating to political organization, comprise men, women and children whose co-residence is occasioned largely by patrilineal, matrilineal and affinal ties. In the past such ties embraced larger local units, such as neighbourhoods and, in some cases, chiefdoms. But as has already been pointed out, colonial resettlement of the Shungu population

between 1898 and 1930 has done much to weaken the kinship ties of the larger local units.

In Western Shungu, local units are numerically dominated by the agnatic kinsmen of the unit head, as Charts 1 and 2 relating to Maibwe Village and Sikokwane's hamlet clearly illustrate. In the chiefdoms of Mukuni and Musokotwane, however, the local units appear to comprise mainly affinal kin. When he gets married, a man moves out from his natal village to settle for a while in his wife's natal village. Thus of the 29 male household heads interviewed in six villages in the Mukuni and Musokotwane chiefdoms, 15 (or 51.72%) were living with their wives' groups. This appears to be a kind of apprenticeship, during the first few years of the marriage, for they are likely to move out again to join their own kinsmen after a few years - usually when they have had a child or two.

(c) The family structure

The Toka-Leya family structure is, in many respects, akin to that of the Plateau Tonga as described by Colson, the only major difference being the degree of emphasis of the principles of matriliney and patriliney. As we have seen, the Toka-Leya today stress agnatic principles more than matrilineal ones. The Plateau Tonga, as Colson shows, emphasize the principles of matriliney, although modern economic factors are breaking down the extended family in favour of the nuclear family.<sup>1</sup> This, in effect, means the weakening of the authority of the mother's brother, in favour of the father.

Marriage is, for the Toka-Leya, a contract involving two major kinship units, and possibly four. Thus, it involves the immediate kin groups of the bride and bridegroom. At a wider level, as each spouse is a member of at least two groups, the father's kin and the mother's

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1. Colson, E. 1962. The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia

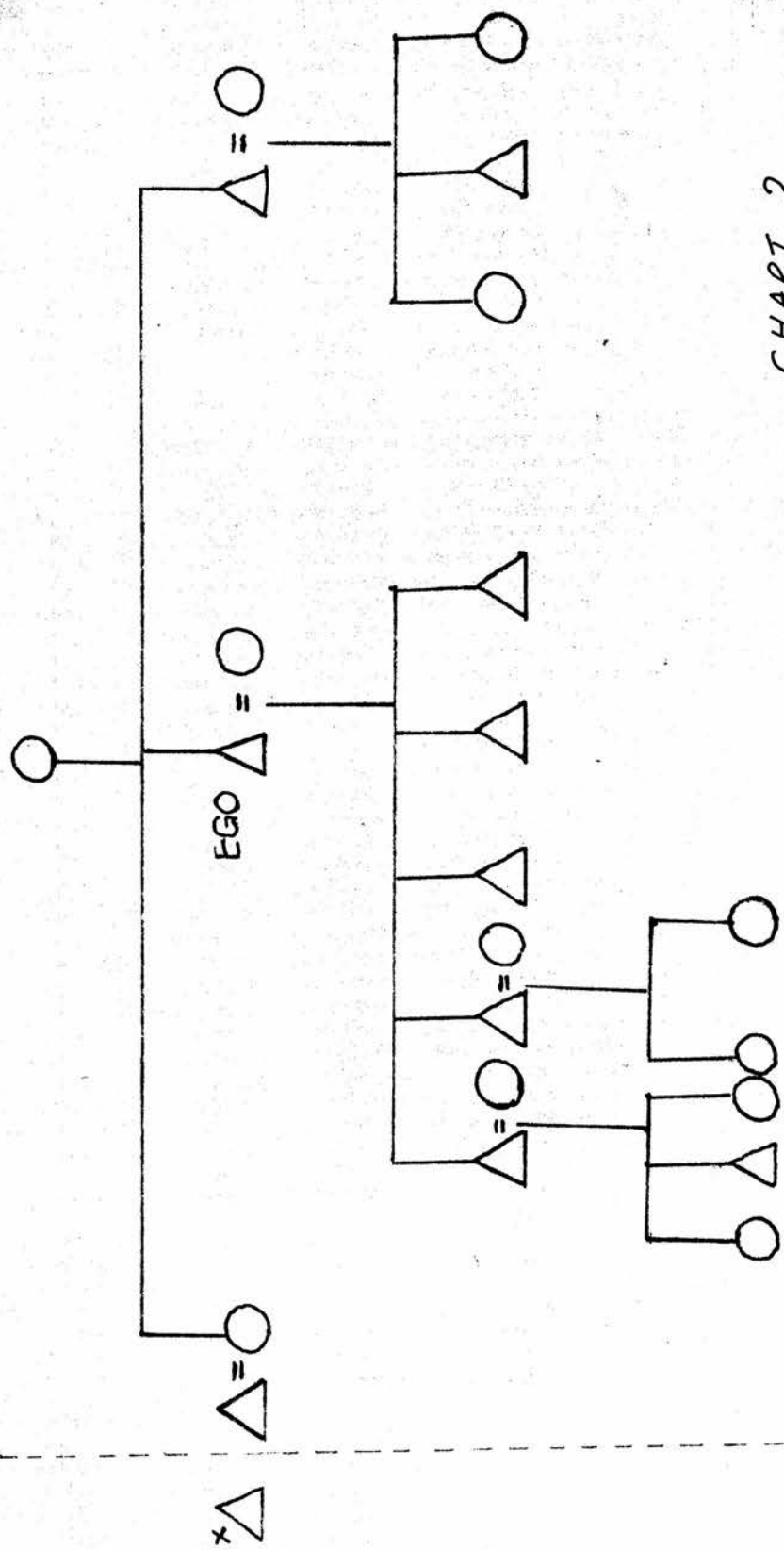


CHART 2

SIKOKWANI'S HAMLET 1976

x CATTLE-HERD



kin, four groups may be involved in relationships which involve a series of rights and obligations. At the wider level the wife-takers, bakwati, are placed in a subordinate relationship to the wife-givers, bazyali. As such, the former are, as a category, expected to show difference to the latter in their every day social contacts, and the wife-givers respond by assuming a parental attitude towards their counterparts. This type of relationship is known as bukwe (bamakwe being either the group of the wife-givers or the wife-takers).

At a different level, those kinsmen belonging to the generation of the parents of the bride are placed on an equal social footing with those of the generation of the parents of the bridegroom and call each other, in their daily social intercourse, muzyazi (co-bearer or co-begetter). At the generation of the spouses themselves the relationship is symbolised by the term bulamwe, or cilamwe. All the maternal and paternal female cousins of the bride are regarded as potential wives to the bridegroom and his maternal and paternal cousins. This relationship involves an easy relationship and a certain amount of sexual licence.

It will be seen from the structural relationships of Toka-Leya marriages that individuals in the marriage play a passive role in its formation, because marriage is regarded as an act of concern to the social groups in which the spouses originate. To this extent, it is quite understandable why marriages were often pre-arranged between the relevant groups and the spouses brought into the picture only after the arrangements had been finalized. The payment of bride wealth did not rest on the shoulders of the groom but on his group as a whole. Similarly, the bride wealth was distributed to members of the group, as each, by virtue of his or her membership of the group, had a claim to it.

The smallest domestic unit is the household,

comprising the male household head, his wife, their children and the children of relatives who have been brought in to herd cattle or help with some domestic chores. A female may also become a household head if she became widowed and was unable to marry, or if she were divorced and decided to establish herself independently. In the Sekute survey, of the 147 adult household heads, 124 (or 84.35%) were males and 23 (or 15.65%) females. The number of people in each household varied from 1 to 14, but averaged just over 4.

Toka-Leya marriages are potentially polygynous. Each sub-household in a polygynous marriage is relatively independent of the other sub-households so that each wife is responsible only to the husband, who is the over-all head of the household. For ritual purposes, the senior wife plays a more important role.

In the Sekute survey, of the 112 men who were currently married, 9 (or 8.04%) were married polygamously, involving 20 wives in all. The highest number of wives in these polygynous marriages was 3 and there were only 2 of these. Prior to the colonial occupation, however, polygyny appears to have been much more common than it is now. Thus the traveller Holub relates that his wife, who was travelling together with him, was taken aback when she learned that the chief, Musokotwane, had several wives:

My wife thought she had misunderstood and made Mopani [the porter] to ask them once more. But the messengers began to tell the names of all these beauties and they counted them to their fingers, starting with the small finger of their left hand moving towards the right and then continuing to count from the thumb of the right hand until they in fact got it up to eight wives for this rather insignificant man. My wife was extremely upset and decidedly against any present for these women.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Holub, E. 1975. Travels north of the Zambezi 1885-6



Several accounts relating to the prevalence of polygyny among the Toka-Leya may be found in the reports of the Paris and Church of Christ missionaries.

For the Toka-Leya polygyny was much to be desired for a number of reasons. More wives meant sufficient labour to work the fields. More important still, it meant more children, some of whom might survive at a time when the environment was adverse to the survival of infants. The more children a man has, the greater his chance of setting himself up independently by founding his own village or neighbourhood. It was a potent means of achieving social prestige and political ascendancy. Moreover, having children meant the survival of one's lineage. Such considerations made it imperative that if a man's wife were found to be barren, her group could provide him with a second wife to ensure that he had a greater chance of having children born to him.

Since a man was not permitted to take wives who were related to one another by kinship, it enabled him to establish wider ties in society. Such ties had the function of binding society together as they cut across the barriers of lineages, clan, village or neighbourhood groupings.

In conclusion, it may be stated that kinship in Toka-Leya society provides a basis by which intergroup and inter-personal relationships are defined. Descent groups such as clans and lineages, and local units such as hamlets, villages and neighbourhoods provide a means by which macro-relations in society are structured. Marriage, inheritance and succession provide both an inter-group and inter-personal mode of regulating social relations. Like economic, political and ritual relationships, kinship relationships play a major role in binding Toka-Leya society together.

SEKUTE CHIEFDOM SAMPLE: 12 VILLAGES 1970-71

Number of household heads	147
Number of male household heads	124
Number of female household heads	23
Number of male household heads in current marriage unions	112
Number of divorced male household heads	6
Number of single household heads	6
Number of current polygynous marriages	9

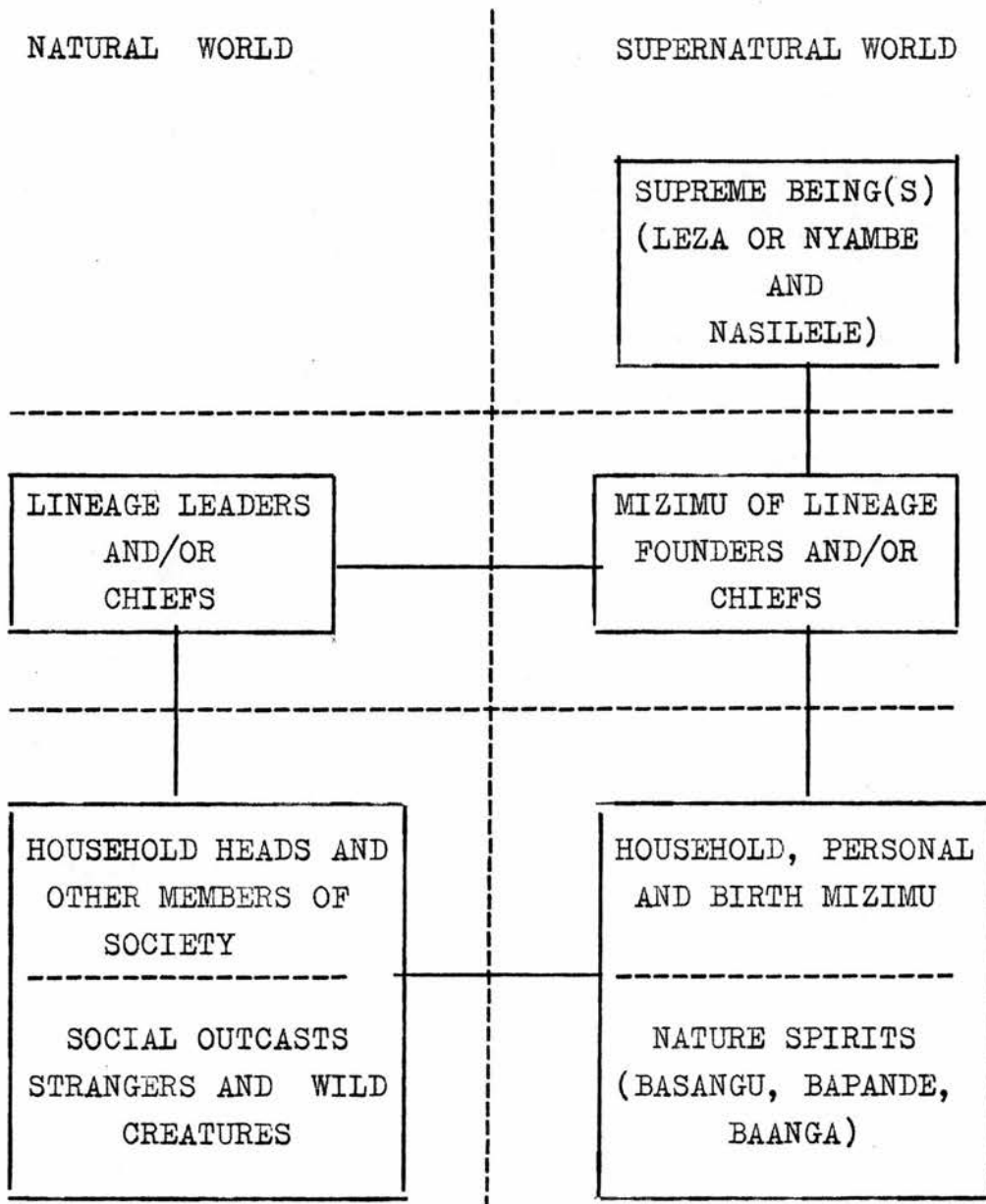
Table 1

#### 4. TOKA-LEYA RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Both Leya and Toka hold a more or less similar cosmology and the only difference, hinging on the conception of the composition of the highest stratum of the cosmological order, occurs within Leya society only. Thus among the Leya of Mukuni and the Toka of Musokotwane, the belief in the existence of one Supreme Being is widespread. This Being is commonly known as Leza, but is also variously known as Cilenga (Creator) Syaatwakwe (one who jealously guards over his possessions) and Mayoba (he who induces torrential rains to fall). The belief in the existence of one Supreme Being is also held by some Leya of Sekute. Other Leya, perhaps through acculturation, postulate the concept of two Supreme Beings, as do the Lozi. These are known as Nyambe, representing the male principle, and Nasilele, symbolizing the female principle.<sup>1</sup>

The Supreme Beings are revealed to the living through various terrestrial and extra-terrestrial occurrences, especially those of an awe-inspiring nature. Thus, epidemics, thunder, lightning, waterfalls, shooting stars and torrential rains are among such manifestations. Yet in Toka-Leya thought, these Beings are said to be very distant from the living and are rarely involved directly in man's affairs. Equally, the living rarely address themselves to the Supreme Beings directly, except during seasonal and critical rituals. Communication with the Supreme Beings is therefore achieved by way of intermediary forces that form the second order of the cosmology -

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1. Nyambe is said to be associated with the rising sun and is, therefore, the God of light, and prayers and sacrifice are offered to him in the morning. Nasilele is said to be associated with the setting sun and is, therefore, the Goddess of darkness. Offerings are made to her in the afternoon or at dusk. The two principles are the creator and creatress of the universe and of life.



TOKA-LEYA COSMOLOGICAL ORDER

DIAGRAM 2



the ancestral spirits (mizimu, pl.; muzimu, sing.<sup>1</sup>).

The mizimu of former lineage founders and successive lineage leaders possess divine qualities that bring them closer to the Supreme Being or Beings and by virtue of their attachment to the living members of their own line, they retain a special interest in their well-being.

There are spheres of activity in which they may assist the living without having to appeal to the Supreme Being or Beings, and others in which they have to intercede on behalf of the living. However, the Toka-Leya do not show a clear distinction with regard to these spheres of competence.

The third order of the supernatural world comprises the mizimu of ordinary members of kin groups who died having attained social maturity - i.e. having been principal parties in households and having begotten children to perpetuate their own lines. Unlike the mizimu of the former lineage leaders, which are concerned with the welfare of all members of the lineage, these mizimu, (which I shall call 'household' and 'personal' mizimu here) are only concerned with the welfare of individuals and household members within the lineage, who stand in a special kinship relationship to them.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Muzimu and mizimu are general terms applied to a whole range of ancestral spirits by both Toka-Leya and Tonga. (See Colson, E. The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia; also see her The social organization of the Gwembe Tonga) Among the Toka-Leya, and probably among the Tonga also, the term bazimu may be used instead of the word mizimu to signify a more intimate relationship. This usage has a parallel among the Shona of Rhodesia, as Murphree states: "Midzimu is the general term, indicating a collective unity, while vadzimu is more personal and is used by individuals to refer particularly to those lineage spirits who are remembered by name." - M.W. Murphree, 1969. Christianity and the Shona, p. 32. In this thesis, however, I will confine myself to the terms muzimu and mizimu for the intimate as well as obscure ancestral spirits.

2. Colson, in The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, (pp.8 - 9) classifies Plateau Tonga mizimu into five categories, thus: (F/note continued on page 57)

In the order of household and personal mizimu may also be placed the free or wandering spirits (basangu, baanga, and bapande), which I shall call 'nature spirits.' In social importance, however, these would rank lowest in the order. The nature spirits establish themselves away from their own kinsmen and their existence is sometimes regarded with awe by the alien groups they affect. But as will be seen later, not all the nature spirits are disruptive to society, as some are connected with the cult of mediums.

The supernatural order postulated above is, as has been indicated already, more or less reflected in the hierarchy of the natural society. The order of the mizimu of former lineage leaders is reflected in the order of the living lineage heads. When the living in

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(F/note continued from page 56)

1. Mizimu as a general term includes all the spirits of former members of the lines of the father and mother, and may even be used still more generally for all the spirits of former members of any group with which a person feels a kinship relationship.
2. Guardian Mizimu are those associated with the names which each person receives soon after birth. They act as his special guardians throughout life, and from them he is thought to derive his personality.
3. House Mizimu are the particular spirits which an adult person installs as the guardians of his household.
4. Inherited Mizimu are those which are associated with a person because he has been given the name of someone recently deceased as part of the funeral rites.
5. Own Muzimu. This is the new muzimu which comes into existence only after a person's death. No living person has his own muzimu.

This classification is valid for Toka-Leya mizimu as well. I do not, however, find much difference between Colson's fourth and fifth classifications, as the later becomes the former in time.

the latter order die, they take their place in the order of the mizimu of former leaders. Similarly, the order of the living heads of household and personal mizimu is reflected in the order of households and of other socially recognized individual members of the lineage. When the latter die, having attained social maturity, they are expected to join the order of personal mizimu and will assume a status equivalent to that which they held among the living. The order of nature spirits is reflected in the order of strangers, outcasts and neglected kinsmen in society together with the order of living creatures. When the latter pass from this life they join the order of nature spirits.

In effect, the cosmological order postulated above implies continual interaction between human society and the supernatural forces, as illustrated in diagram 2. Both my description above and the diagram postulate a neat and clear-cut conception of Toka-Leya cosmology. I must hasten to point out, however, that this is only a generalized view, which I have constructed from fragmentary and, quite often, contradictory notions of the world-view entertained by individual Toka-Leya and implicit in their linguistic categories and religious behaviour.

I shall attempt, in the rest of this Chapter, to give a brief account of Toka-Leya religious life and also show the role of traditional religious beliefs and practices in binding the society together.

Toka-Leya religious life pervades the whole social fabric but manifests itself more fully in local ancestral cults, congregational cults and cults relating to divination, witchcraft and sorcery.

#### Local ancestral cults

##### (a) The household ancestral spirit (muzimu we-ng'anda)

In Toka-Leya thought, a man's full position in

society is not attained until he has married and established a household and perhaps has also had children of his own who will perpetuate his line when he dies. Until this has come about, he is regarded by society at large as immature and therefore still a member of his father's household. It is his father who is expected to represent his interests in the community. On establishing a household, however, a man attains social maturity and may now break away from his father's charge and represent the interests of his own household. This structural relationship is also reflected in the ancestral cult. Thus, until he marries and establishes a household, a man's religious obligations are fulfilled or performed for him by his father to whose household he belongs. On his attainment of social maturity, he may represent the interests of his own household to his paternal ancestral spirits directly without having to approach them through his father, who would now belong to a different household from his.

The dedication of a household involves the choice of a paternal spirit, preferably that of one's father (if he is dead) or one's father's father. If this is not possible, any paternal spirit, as long as a close kinship relationship can be demonstrated, is acceptable. The choice of a household spirit is followed by the performance of rites (mupayi) at the entrance to the hut. Protective medicine is buried there and the sacrifice of a chicken or goat, and libations of beer or milk offered to the chosen ancestor to the accompaniment of a prayer. An elderly person from one's paternal group officiates at the dedication ceremony, in the presence of representatives from the wife's paternal group. Some people say that a second dedication to the wife's ancestral spirits is also made.

A man seeks to establish a special relationship with his own and his wife's immediate ancestral spirits through his household for a number of reasons. To begin



with his marriage will have brought into a close and special relationship people from different families and from different clans and lineages as well. Such a new relationship in society will require the blessings of the ancestors to be able to work smoothly. Secondly, the establishment of a special relationship with an ancestor ensures that a household head will get a hearing from the supernatural world in his own right whenever he presents his individual problems. Indeed, a household muzimu may be his only means of communicating with the supernatural world for the benefit of his immediate family. He cannot approach the mizimu of former lineage leaders, for these are only concerned with the total kin group. He cannot present his problems to Leza or Nyambe and Nasilele, as these are too far removed from him, and are best approached through congregational rites.

A man's dependence upon his ancestral spirits is reciprocated by them, so that the benefits are mutual. Toka-Leya say that a neglected ancestral spirit becomes socially dangerous and may cause illness to those who have neglected it; it may also lose its divine importance and fade into oblivion. To this extent, the attention given to it by its living descendants places it in its right position in the hierarchy of family spirits.

(b) The birth muzimu (muzimu wakuzyalwa)

Every child born to a household is given a birth muzimu a month or two after it is born. The birth muzimu is supposed to protect and guard the person throughout his or her childhood and adulthood. But a birth muzimu does not have the same functions as the household muzimu which represents a person's interests in the supernatural world and to which he offers sacrifice and libation. One does not offer sacrifice or libation to a birth muzimu as this is regarded as part of oneself. Some Toka-Leya say that the birth muzimu forms the total personality

of an individual, but others say it is only a person's double and may be separated from him sometimes. Whatever the correct view is, it is rare for Toka-Leya to speak of their mizimu as separate entities from themselves. Paradoxically more than one person may be given the same birth muzimu.

A child is given two birth mizimu, one from its paternal ancestors, and the other from the maternal side (i.e. from the mother's father's ancestral mizimu). The child's paternal muzimu is regarded as the more important one, socially; the muzimu is given by calling the child the name of a particular ancestor. It is common for the muzimu chosen to be that of the clan or lineage. In later life, a person may assume other names, including inherited ones but his birth name remains the "real name" or the "root name."

A birth name stresses the importance of the kin group to the child, and structures its future relations within the kin group of its father or mother. The paternal ancestral name which is bestowed upon it first indicates the primary importance of its father's group and the maternal name given in second place implies the secondary importance of the mother's kin group. This practice may, however, be a reversal of the naming procedure in the past, when the mother's kin-group was regarded as socially the more important.

It may happen that during the naming of a child, the parents fail to recognize the identity of the particular muzimu predestined for the child and, instead, give it the name of a different muzimu. The neglected muzimu will become unhappy and angry and may cause the child to be ill. A diviner will then be sought to identify the child's proper muzimu. As an informant explained:



If I am your child and become sick, you will look for a ng'anga (diviner) to find out what is causing my illness. The diviner will perhaps inform you that a muzimu has come and that it is the muzimu of your father which wants me to be called by its name. Then you come and pray at the doorstep of your hut. You tell it: 'I understand your demand. Leave the child alone, leave him in a cool pool.<sup>1</sup> Your name has been revealed. Look after your grandson, so that he may live long'.

On the death of a person, his birth muzimu remains behind him. If he dies having attained social maturity, it turns into a personal muzimu which he creates in his own right. But if he dies young, his birth muzimu remains behind in its own right, and may manifest itself in a natural object which may have been associated with the young person in life, as is illustrated in the following text, given by an old Leya:

On the island of Nsowa, our old settlement where our ancestors used to live and pray, and where elephant tusks stand on old graves, there is a baobab tree. This tree grew from a seed which came out of the pod of a baobab which a certain child played with as a toy rattle. When the child died, they broke the pod over the child's grave and a baobab tree took root there. The tree, which still stands today is known as Nansaka (of the toy rattle).

In the above text, it is clear that the baobab tree is seen as the emanation of the spirit of the deceased child.

(c) The personal muzimu

Essentially, a personal muzimu is created on the death of a socially mature person. The same muzimu may be inherited by a paternal (or, rarely, a maternal) relative of the deceased who, in his own right also creates a

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1. Cool pool; meaning 'in peace' in 'good health', etc.

personal muzimu different from the inherited one, when he dies.

The personal muzimu is dissociated from the body of the deceased by a series of rites. During the intervening period before a successor to the deceased is found, the muzimu-to-be goes into a kind of unrecognized existence, but assumes its proper importance in the ancestral hierarchy when it is finally inherited by a relative of the deceased. If the necessary rites are not held to propitiate the muzimu-to-be, it may turn wild and become socially dangerous, or may simply wander off to some distant land, there to lead a life of solitude or to enter a medium. Therefore, the inheritance of a personal muzimu may be seen as an act that binds family ancestors and their offspring together for their mutual well-being.

The inheritance of another person's muzimu accords one the social position of the deceased. Henceforth, a man is expected to fulfil the social obligations of the deceased whose muzimu he has inherited while continuing to fulfil the social obligations expected of him as a member of society in his own right. He thus plays a double social role. This practice, in effect, ensures that no members in the local unit are left destitute as a result of the death of their guardian. On the death of a person, his inherited muzimu detaches itself from his body and goes to join a host of ancestral mizimu, perhaps to be given later to a newly-born child. But the muzimu of a ritual leader, or sub-leader of a group, which has a collective significance, is inherited continuously for as long as the position attaching to the muzimu remains socially important and necessary.

#### (d) Other mizimu

As already pointed out, there are other mizimu in the Toka-Leya world-view that are also thought to influence people's course of events. The basangu, baanga and

bapande are believed to bear little or no relationship to the people they affect. They are said to be all connected with the cult of healing and divining. The basangu and baanga, for instance, are said to be knowledgeable in the art of herbal medicine, while the bapande are said to specialize in foretelling events (such as droughts, wars and illnesses). All the three kinds of spirit function by possessing hosts, usually female members of society, who then become mediums. When a nature spirit possesses a host, the occurrence is symbolized by a long illness on the part of the host, accompanied by a keen awareness of supernatural forces as well as of medicinal herbs.

A diviner is usually consulted by members of the family of the host to ascertain their own diagnosis. When the ng'anga has confirmed this, the host will then begin to practise as a qualified medium.

The medium responds to certain types of music which the possessing nature spirits favour. When she falls into a trance, her healing or divinatory powers are said to be most effective.

The nature spirits being usually foreign and subordinate in the spirit hierarchy, they cannot possess a host unless permitted to do so by the ancestral spirits of the host. Some Toka-Leya say that nature spirits which possess individuals in the families are agents of the ancestral spirits of such families. They are instructed to possess individuals in order to reveal certain truths for the benefit of the families.

(e) The local ancestral grave cult (magamba)

The ancestral grave among the Toka-Leya has both a localized and congregational significance. I am, however, concerned with the former, under this sub-heading, as the latter will be dealt with below, under a different sub-

heading. As pointed out earlier, every local social unit among the Toka-Leya is often a closely-knit kin grouping with a political head who is also a ritual leader. A hamlet or village leader offers sacrifice and libation at the graveyard (magamba) shrine of his own father or paternal grandfather for the welfare of the hamlet or village. The inhabitants of the hamlet or village recognize the supremacy of the ritual leader's ancestor over their own (if these are different from the leader's) in matters affecting the group as a whole as, for instance, in localized crises such as deaths occurring in the group or rains not falling over the fields of the group while falling in the surrounding area.

(f) The 'little hut' (kaanda)

Just as the magamba cult may be of local or congregational significance, so is the kaanda cult. Basically, the cult relates to rain-making, and the ceremony is held immediately before the onset of the rains or during a drought. As a full description of the kaanda ceremony is given later when I come to discuss congregational cults, it will suffice to mention here that the main address during the kaanda ceremony in the local situation is directed to Leza (or Nyambe and Nasilele) and to the chief ancestor of the ritual leader of the local social unit. The address is in form of a request for plentiful rains or for an end to a prevailing drought and is sought for the benefit of the immediate grouping rather than of wider society.

The Congregational Ancestral Cult

In Toka-Leya society, shrines relating to the Supreme Being (or Beings), former chiefs, former lineage and sub-lineage leaders and other politico-ritual leaders are of great ritual significance in terms of chiefdoms or neighbourhoods. Such shrines vary in physical appearance or conception but may, generally speaking, be divided into three categories.



- (i) the tomb shrine (magamba)
- (ii) the 'little hut' shrine (kaanda)
- (iii) the natural shrine (cilengwa ca Leza)

I shall attempt to describe below the ceremonies in which these shrines feature and show what role they play in the social structure of the Toka-Leya.

(i) The magamba shrine

The magamba shrine relates to an actual tomb in which the body of a chief or other politico-ritual ancestor is buried. In the past, the tombs of important Toka-Leya were distinguished by raised earth and marked with elephant tusks or fine metal work. "On Kalai Island," wrote David Livingstone in 1855, "as Sekota's island was called, we saw the grave of his father surrounded by 70 large elephants' tusks stuck in the ground, the points turned inwards. About 30 others were placed as sort of gravestones over the members of his family".<sup>1</sup> Charles Livingstone wrote thus of the 'Batoka' graves:

The Batoka made a near approach to the customs of the most refined nations, in having permanent graveyards, either on the sides of sacred hills or under the shady trees near their villages. They revered the tombs of their ancestors and erected monuments of the costliest iron over the graves. [They] reverently buried their dead, and even afterwards regarded the ground as sacred to their memories.<sup>2</sup>

In the social history of the Leya, in particular, elephant tusks are said to distinguish the graves of important people. The former political and ritual leaders of both the Leya of Mukuni and Sekute are said to "sit under the earth, surrounded by elephant tusks".

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1. Schapera, I. (Ed.). Livingstone's African Journal. p.325

2. Livingstone, C. (n.d.). Description of the county of the Batoka . unpublished manuscript in the collection of the Livingstone Museum.

(ii) The kaanda shrine


The kaanda (meaning, 'little hut') shrine, as the term suggests, consists of a miniature hut, located in the centre of the ritual leader's village. It is designed to counter-balance the ritual activity taking place at the magamba shrine. In effect, its role is to draw the ancestral spirits from their abode at the graveyard to the abode of the living.

(iii) The natural shrine

Some shrines among the Toka-Leya consist of natural features which are associated with particular ancestors or the Supreme Being (or Beings). The Victoria Falls, for instance, was in the past, associated with a powerful deity, as Coillard wrote in 1878:

The natives believe it is haunted by a malevolent and cruel divinity, and they make it offerings to conciliate its favour, a bead necklace, a bracelet, or some other object, which they fling into the abyss, bursting into lugubrious incantations, quite in harmony with their dread and horror.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier, David Livingstone had indicated that waterfalls on the Zambezi were places of worship for the Toka-Leya. He wrote:

The chiefs Sekote,<sup>2</sup> Mokuine,<sup>3</sup> and Licuane,<sup>4</sup> appropriated the **three large** falls  of the Zambezi River as places at which they prayed to the gods or departed spirits. The roar of the waters were well fitted to inspire feelings of awe.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa. p. 55.

2. Sekota: Sekute.

3. Mokuine: Mukuni.

4. Licuane or Liswaani, a Subiya ruler to the far west of Shungu in the nineteenth century. Today Liswani's rule is confined to the Caprivi.

5. Schapera, I, op. cit. p. 325.



Some rocks, groves prominent trees, etc., were considered to be the abode of important ancestral spirits. The people of Mukuni, for instance, have a sacred rock, known as kecheyo, just outside the chief's village which is associated with the first ruler of the Mukuni dynasty. The first Mukuni is believed to have carried the rock all the way from Kabwe, supposedly the original home of the Leya of Mukuni, and planted it at Shungu to mark the new headquarters of the group. In times of crisis, the narrow end of the **sacred** rock is adorned with beads and offered a libation to avert the disaster. Similarly, in the northern part of Shungu, some groves and forests are associated with historical figures who are believed to be the ancestors of the present Toka.

#### The Ancestral Shrine in Toka-Leya Congregational Rites and Ceremonies

The ancestral shrine, whether it be the magamba, kaanda or natural type forms an essential feature of any Toka-Leya ritual at the congregational level. Congregational rituals, known as lwiindi, may be divided into two broad categories; (a) seasonal lwiindi and, (b) critical lwiindi.

##### (a) Seasonal lwiindi

The ancestral spirits (mizimu) directly concerned with the welfare of the chiefdom or neighbourhood must be remembered from time to time by the chiefs or neighbourhood leaders descended from them through communal rituals involving sacrifice and libations. This way, the ancestors continue to take an interest in the welfare of their descendants by providing them with rain to enable them to grow the staple crops.

There are three major seasonal lwiindi among the Toka-Leya:

##### (i) The pre-rains lwiindi

- (ii) The lwiindi of crop growth.
- (iii) The lwiindi of harvest.

As the structure of each lwiindi varies from region to region, I attempt, in my description, to specify the regional differences. It should also be borne in mind that the rituals I describe have largely been abandoned by the Toka-Leya. Today, only the Leya of Mukuni perform congregational lwiindi, but even these have lost much of their grandeur. In the chiefdoms of Sekute and Musokotwane, lwiindi have ceased to involve large segments of society and are now held, if at all, on a local basis.

(i) The pre-rains lwiindi

The pre-rains lwiindi, held just before the onset of the rains, is designed to ensure a good supply of rain when the actual rain season arrives. It is, in actual fact, an advance notice to the ancestors for a favour.

The intention to hold the pre-rains lwiindi is announced by the Priestess Bedyango (in the Mukuni area), the Priestess Ina-Sing'andu (in the Sekute area) or a neighbourhood leader. Beer is brewed by all the households in the area, while the kaanda is being constructed in the centre of the village of the chief or neighbourhood leader. When this has been erected, the ritual leader (the priestess or neighbourhood leader) invites the senior women from each household to bring him or her, samples of their seed for the season. The ritual leader places the grain in the kaanda. The male household heads are asked to offer items associated with cultivation, such as axes and hoes which are then placed beside the kaanda.

When the beer is finally ready it is carried in potfuls to the kaanda, where all the adult members of the community gather in the morning on the appointed day, from all corners of the chiefdom or neighbourhood. The ritual leader takes some of the beer in a gourd and

sprinkles it over the kaanda as a libation to Nyambe (the God associated with morning), and then another libation is made to the principal ancestor of the chief or neighbourhood leader.

The ritual leader then picks up a hoe blade and an axe blade which he or she clicks together at regular intervals as he or she offers a prayer to Nyambe, which is repeated by the whole gathering:

Give us rain, Nyambe,  
Don't forget us, Nyambe;  
We want rain, Nyambe.

Then the name of the principal ancestor is substituted for Nyambe. This is followed by the mention of the name of another ancestor in a descending order.

After the offerings, the ritual leader hands back to the senior women participants the seed which has now been made fertile by Nyambe and the principal mizimu. The women then pick up their hoes and start to cultivate, in a symbolic manner, the area around the kaanda where the blessed seed is now scattered in symbolic imitation of the sewing that is to begin in few weeks or so.

Following this, some beer is distributed to the gathering. Later in the day, the gathering moves to the local graveyard where libations are poured on to the already cleared graves of all the senior ancestors of the chief or ritual leader and more songs are sung. Then the gathering returns to the kaanda. By this time, afternoon will have come. More libation is poured on to the kaanda, this time in honour of the goddess Nasilele who is said to be the controller of afternoon and darkness. Again this is followed by the mention of the names of the principal ancestors.

The above description relates mainly to the Leya of Western Shungu (i.e. in the Sekute chiefdom). Elsewhere,

the prayers are addressed to Leza and the principal ancestors.

It is clear that like all Toka-Leya rituals, the pre-rains lwiindi is a unifying factor in society. It fosters sentiments of solidarity within the chiefdom or neighbourhood by focussing on ways and means of controlling the forces of nature so crucial to the survival of the total group. Furthermore, it provides individuals within Toka-Leya society a periodic means of relating themselves to the higher forces.

(ii) The lwiindi of crop growth

When Shungu has had a good supply of rains, the Toka-Leya say Leza and the ancestors have answered their call. If the rains fail, then it is because the lwiindi has not been performed according to laid down rules. With good rains, however, the crops grow and for this, the ancestors must be thanked for their mediation with Leza. Again the ritual leader (priestess or neighbourhood leader) plays a central role in the ceremony while the chief (in the Mukuni and Sekute chiefdoms) plays a symbolic role as over-all leader of the ceremony.

When the appointed day comes, the ritual participants carry potfulls of beer to the chief's palace (or neighbourhood leader's residence) where libations are offered to the various principal ancestors and prayers made at the local shrine. In the meantime, selected young men from different parts of the chiefdom or neighbourhood will have gathered at a nearby stream (known in the Mukuni area as Lombelombe). Here they dig up white clay and mark their bodies with it 'to make them appear fierce'. They are now known as Basilombelombe (the people of Lombelombe). The Basilombelombe march back to the village where the offerings are being made to the ancestors. As they do so, they trample across fields of young crops,

singing:

Where shall we pass ?  
We will pass wherever we wish,  
We, the great path makers  
For we demand to pass.  
Where we desire to pass,  
There shall we plod.  
Where shall we pass ?  
We will pass right here,  
We, the great path-makers.

Many a sprout is destroyed by the Basilombelombe as they plod across the greenfields of maize, millet, sorghum and bulrush. In their worst mood, they let loose the cattle over the fields, so that more young crops are ruined. This gesture has a double symbolism. Firstly, it is a way of expressing abundance. The destroyed crops are seen as sacrifice to the ancestors who have been good enough to mediate with Leza. Secondly, as Muntemba has put it, "this wanton destruction of crops was aimed at 'impressing upon the people the power of the ancestors who, inspite of the fact that crops were flourishing, wished to remind the people that they still held the power of the growth of crops.' The people who destroyed the crops are said to have been acting under the influence of the ancestors."<sup>1</sup>

(iii) The lwiindi of harvest

The lwiindi of harvest marks the happiest occasion in the seasonal tribulations of the Toka-Leya. It heralds a season which will be marked by a lack of famine, a season of plenty. The ceremony is held just as the first crops ripen. Like many other ceremonies it is centred about the local shrines of the principal ancestors of chiefs or other ritual leaders, and like many other congregational rituals, it has the effect of both unifying large segments of Toka-Leya society and of providing Toka-Leya with a consistent view of their place in the natural and supernatural order.

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1. Muntemba, M. 'Political and ritual sovereignty (F/note Cont'd)



(b) Critical Lwiindi

It may be seen from the above descriptions that seasonal lwiindi are those rituals that Toka-Leya hold on a routine basis and are generally associated with relative social and natural harmony. Toka-Leya also hold special rituals, which I have called critical lwiindi. Essentially, these differ from the seasonal lwiindi in that they are held only in times of crisis.

Three lwiindi of the critical type may be distinguished:

- (i) the drought lwiindi
- (ii) the epidemics lwiindi
- (iii) the war lwiindi

(i) The lwiindi of drought

Structurally, the ritual of drought was similar to that held before the onset of the rains. It differed, however, in scale and intensity. The drought ritual was, in the past, a solemn affair because the failure of the rains was a sure sign of disaster for the entire population. To this extent, the referent symbols were the ancient shrines of the founding ancestors. Further, in the chiefdoms of Mukuni and Sekute where the priestesses Bedyango and Ina-Sing'andu played leading roles in the seasons rituals, the chiefs took the leading roles in the critical rituals to signify the importance of the occasion. The rituals I describe below are those that occurred among the Leya of Mukuni and Sekute.

When a drought occurred, the chief, in conjunction with the priestess, consulted a diviner who diagnosed the cause of the drought. The missionary, Coisson reports

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(F/note cont'd from page 72)  
among the Mukuni Leya', in Zambia Museums Journal.  
Vol.1. No.1 p. 36.



that Chief Sekute in 1899 did the divining himself.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the case may be, the diviner often attributed the drought to ancestral wrath. The ancestor may be said to feel neglected, as no sacrifice or libation has been offered to him for a long time. As in the case of the pre-rains lwiindi beer is brewed and the kaanda erected. On the day of the ritual, the chief leads his people in a procession to the old ancestral shrines on Kalunda or Kalai islands in the Zambezi River. A black bull (signifying the dark rain clouds) or a sheep or goat is led to the shrine for slaughter. When the procession approaches the Zambezi River, all the people not related to the chief are separated from his kinsmen. Only the latter are allowed to approach the shrine on the island. The chief's sisters' sons, grandsons as well as the priestess are said to constitute the core of the ritual participants.

The wife of the missionary, Coisson, has left a vivid description of a drought ceremony witnessed in December, 1905. The people of Sekute had intended to go to the shrine of the founding ancestor, Malumbulumbu Sagwesagwe, on Kalai island. But lacking canoes, they contented themselves with making offerings at the shrine of Mungala, a former Sekute, near the Zambezi.<sup>2</sup> Chief Mungala Sekute had led the Sekute Leya from exile in the land of the Ndebele about 1864, having been driven away from Shungu by the Kololo about 1836. Mrs. Coisson reported:

Everywhere, the people are asking their ancestors for rain, but then it seems as though they are hard of hearing. I had occasion to see one of their ceremonies near here. One day, Sekutenyana, a small chief from this area, son of our old

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1. Coisson, A 1899. Kazungula Station report.

2. Coisson (Mme) Letter dated 7/12/05 in News of the Zambezi p.23, 1906.

Sekute, came with all his village<sup>1</sup>. The women had put on their prettiest wrappers, above all, red clothes. The men brought two sheep and a pot of beer. Near to the station, there is the tomb of their old ancestor, Sekute, and the chief wanted to ask him for rain. As it was on the terrain of the station, Sekutenyana came first to see us to ask if we had any objections. 'what do you want to do ?' I asked him. 'You see, my ancestor is thirsty and I want to give him water so that in his turn, he will give us rain'. On that he went off and looked for the place where the tomb was, then brought water in an enormous gourd. Four of them tipped it up, murmuring incantations. Then they killed a sheep and put the entrails on the tomb in all areas. Then again they tipped up water and beer, this last in a small quantity and waved a green branch to send the flies away, always repeating incantations to the dead. After that, the men cooked the meat ... when the meat was cooked, everybody got together to eat it around the tomb. Then a new sprinkling of water and incantations. Then as the sun was going down, and the village was far off, the chief got ready to leave. But before that they killed the second sheep which would be eaten in the village with plenty of dances and abundant libations of beer. At the moment of leaving, the chief called to the women who were going to make the procession, singing, dancing, and clapping their hands, to greet the dead. Sekutenyana, during this time made three great steps towards the west, then to the east, jumping on his tip-toes and stretching out his arms. As a final salute, he came back to the tomb and bowed his head. At the same time he lifted up one of his legs and one arm into the air. With a great jump he came back down on his feet and then went with all his people, keeping up their monotonous chant and clapping their hands.

On getting back to the village, the rain-seekers perform a ceremony centred around the kaanda, similar to that performed during the pre-rains ceremony.

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1. It is doubtful if only one village was involved in the ritual. The chief's son would appear to have been acting on behalf of his old father and would have gathered people from a whole neighbourhood.

(ii) The lwiindi relating to epidemics

This particular ritual appears to have confined to the Leya of Mukuni. Those of Sekute know about it but are not sure if it ever featured in their society. The Toka of Musokotwane say that it was confined to the Leya.

The ritual involved a series of acts aimed at purifying the territory of the scourge. Thus, when an epidemic such as small pox, influenza or the plague struck, an order was issued by the Chief and the Priestess Bedyango to all the inhabitants of the territory to abstain from sexual intercourse and to slaughter all the male beasts and chickens in the area, as the bellowing of bulls and crowing of cocks were believed to exacerbate the scourge. Early the following morning, all the inhabitants, including men, women and children gathered at the chief's capital village where they were ritually treated by the Priestess Bedyango. They then marched to the Zambezi River, carrying spare garments with them. At a spot above the Falls, they stripped themselves of all their old garments and discarded them into the fast-flowing current, which swept them over the Falls. At the same time, the people dipped themselves into the flowing water and then walked back to dry land and put on spare garments which they will have carried with them to the river. These acts symbolised their ritual purification from the scourge which was then believed to have been carried away by the swift current. Those of the chief's lineage then went over to the royal ancestral shrine on the island of Kalunda where libation and sacrifice were offered to the great ancestor to keep the epidemic away from the area for all time.

(iii) The lwiindi relating to war

Here again, the ritual described below relates to the people of Mukuni.

When war was declared on a neighbouring group, the warriors were gathered and led to a sacred hut at the royal shrine in several groups. Having entered the sacred hut, they emerged from it one by one, crawling on their knees and were made to pass between the legs of the Priestess Bedyango who stood in the doorway, with her legs firmly thrust apart. She commanded them:

Come out !

Prepare yourselves to meet the enemy,  
Defeat him on the battlefield,  
For he was born of a woman such as I.  
Do not run away from him,  
Or you shall die like women.

With the blessing of the ancestors, the warriors are believed to have taken on a new lease of bravery. In a major war, the chief himself led the fighters.

Clearly, critical lwiindi played an important psychological effect among Toka-Leya in times of crises. Not only did they, like the seasonal rituals, foster a sense of unity within the major segments of society, but also instilled a sense of security in the society by invoking the powers of the founding ancestors.

### Divination, Witchcraft and Sorcery

In Toka-Leya thought, divination, witchcraft and sorcery are inter-related. The art of divining is inconceivable without practices of witchcraft and sorcery in society. Nevertheless, divination is regarded as a separate sphere from witchcraft and sorcery in the framework of Toka-Leya beliefs.

#### (a) Divination and healing

The central figure in the art of divination and healing is the ng'anga, who manipulates in a symbolic manner, supernatural forces as well as objects pervaded with supernatural force, to achieve desired ends. The



ng'anga, therefore, is believed to possess the technique for detecting causes of illness in society and effecting cures through a variety of ways.

In general, a ng'anga in Toka-Leya society combines magical practices with practical herbal knowledge, which he uses simultaneously in an act of divination and healing. Thus having detected a wizard or sorcerer, through a process that is largely magical ( in the sense of 'psychic'), a ng'anga removes the evil force (bulozi) from the witch by a process that involves magical extraction as well as by the administration of herbs. The ng'anga will effect a similar cure on the victim of witchcraft or sorcery.

Whereas all ng'anga who are capable of detecting causes of evil are also believed to be capable of effecting cures, some ng'anga may be renowned for being proficient in effecting cures of certain physical illnesses such as leprosy, barrenness, etc, by processes that are largely based on practical knowledge.

There is a widespread belief in Toka-Leya society that divination is an art learned from foreigners. I am inclined to agree with this view, for I found no Toka or Leya who had a great reputation for divining. The men who practise the art at Shungu are nearly all foreigners. in 1975, for instance, Chiefs Mukuni, Musokotwane and Sekute hired a reputed Kaonde diviner, Kadansa Sansakuwa, to rid Shungu of witches and sorcerers. In the past, the diviners have come from the Western Province and North-Western Province and were mainly Luvala, Chokwe, Lunda Mbunda and Luchazi. Their method of divining is similar to that described by Victor Turner in his The forest of symbols<sup>1</sup> as well as in The drums of affliction.<sup>2</sup> Essentially

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1. Turner, V.W. The forest of symbols. 1968.

2. Turner, V.W. The drums of affliction. 1968.

the divination techniques involve the use of symbolic carvings or other objects. The cause of the illness or death is interpreted in a variety of ways through these objects. For instance, the position of each object in relation to the other in a divinatory basket could form the basis of the interpretation. Horns filled with medicines may lead the diviner to the wizard's house, and so forth. In contrast, some Toka-Leya families are said to be proficient in healing certain physical afflictions such as barrenness, (using magical as well as practical means), which also fall within the field of the ng'anga, proper.

The art of healing among the Toka-Leya is passed from generation to generation within families. In particular, it is passed from mother's brother to sister's son as traditionally a close relationship exists between mother's brother and sister's son. Thus Kambole Mpatamatenga tells us that the Chabalanda matrilineage (in chief Musokotwane's area) had a great reputation for curing barrenness in both men and women. The cures were effected by magical as well as practical means. No divining was performed. As Mpatamatenga explains, when a man consulted Chabalanda's sisters' sons for a cure they slaughtered a young crowing cock which they cooked whole. Herbs were thrown into the pot. At dawn, the patient was made to eat it all up and then retire to his bed. Within a few minutes 'he felt his manhood restored to him'.<sup>1</sup>

The ng'anga, whether as a diviner and herbalist, or simply as a herbalist employing a measure of spiritual forces, plays a significant role in society. In his capacity as diviner and herbalist, his actions have, to put it in the words of Daneel, "a cathartic effect since

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1. Mpatamatenga, Kambole. Kasimbo ambaendaabo Vol. 2



evil of an antisocial nature is felt to have been affectively dealt with".<sup>1</sup> In his capacity as herbalist, his actions have a re-integrative effect on the individuals who are re-integrated in the wider society as full members.

(b) Witchcraft and sorcery

The Toka-Leya do not, in everyday life, draw a wide distinction between witchcraft (which is a psychic act) and sorcery (which involves the manipulation of harmful medicines by magical means).<sup>2</sup> Both forms of practice are known as bulozi and those who practice bulozi are known as balozi. Nevertheless, we may draw a distinction between a mulozi who manipulates, in a symbolic manner, supernatural forces as well as objects pervaded with supernatural force to achieve a socially undesirable end, and one who manipulates objects by magical means to achieve ends which may not be harmful to society but which are beneficial to himself. The former form of bulozi is condemned by society at large while the second is somewhat tolerated as it does not involve the loss of life.

Accusations of bulozi of the first order usually occur within kin groups. The most common cases are between father and son, mother's brother and sister's son, brother and brother etc. This would suggest that the causes of the allegations were rooted in competition over land, succession and inheritance. I did not come across many cases of allegation of bulozi involving people who were not kinsmen. The Toka-Leya themselves rationalised the accusation patterns by stating that bewitching a non-kinsman is dangerous as his spirit is likely to take revenge either by killing the perpetrator of the illness or death or by attacking a kinsman of his.

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1. Daneel, M.L. 1971. Old and new in southern Shona independent churches. p. 159.

2. For a more detailed distinction between witchcraft and sorcery, see generally, Evans - Pritchard, E.E. 1937 Witchcraft, cracles and magic among the Azande.

The bulozi of the second order is sought for self-protection against the harmful bulozi of others, or in order to enable one to acquire wealth. Thus any man or woman who feels threatened by the bulozi of another may approach a diviner/herbalist who may make charms for him to wear on his body, or to instal in the house. These charms are believed to repel any evil forces directed against the owner. Secondly, a person wishing to acquire luck in any venture, such as growing more crops, raising cattle, assuming a socially important position, etc., may approach a ng'anga who will compound the necessary medicines for him.

Most of the objects used in bulozi by the Toka-Leya are decidedly of foreign origin. In 1975 the diviner Kadansa Sansakuwa confiscated hundreds of witchcraft objects, including figurines, from the Toka-Leya. These objects were said to have been mostly acquired from foreigners. The figure carvings, in particular, were carved in styles commonly occurring in the Western and North-Western Provinces. In any case the Toka-Leya do not carve figures traditionally. The implication is that Toka-Leya beliefs in witchcraft and sorcery may, in the past, have been less complex than they are today. Kambole Mpatamatenga believes that witchcraft and sorcery practices among the Toka-Leya become more prominent and dangerous since the beginning of colonial occupation.<sup>1</sup> It may be pointed out that colonial occupation exposed the Toka-Leya to many forms of influence from other ethnic groups whose members flocked to Shungu to seek work in Livingstone or in the surrounding farms. A good number of these people eventually settled among the Toka-Leya.

From the point of view of the social structure, witchcraft may be seen as a means of bringing out into the open grudges that would, if left unattended, be socially disruptive to the extended family. To quote

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1. Mpatamatenga, K. Op. cit Vol. 1.

Daneel again, "used as a device to discipline or expel the antisocial and nonconforming elements within society, wizardry beliefs and allegations in the past have formed one of the most effective conservative forces which maintain social cohesion and discourage change."<sup>1</sup>

The above account gives an over-view of the religious organization of the Toka-Leya. The first part gives their world-view and shows how the unity of the supernatural order is reflected in the unity of the living. The account also examines the various areas in which the religious life of the Toka-Leya is expressed. In particular, it focus upon the ancestral cults which constitute their most significant religious life. Finally, the cults of witchcraft, divination and sorcery are examined to show how they relate to the social relationships of the Toka-Leya.

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1. Daneel, M.L. op. cit. p. 160.

## P A R T II

### COLONIAL OCCUPATION AND THE COMING OF THE CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES

#### Introduction

In Chapter 3, I describe the occupation of Shungu by the British South Africa Company (and later, by the British Imperial Government) and show the problems arising therefrom for the Toka-Leya. In Chapter 4, I relate colonial occupation to the coming of the missionaries.

In Chapter 5, I describe the mission churches at Shungu and show their structural and organizational differences. In Chapter 6, I examine the relationships between the missionary societies in Europe and America, the missionaries in the field and the mission peoples. I pay particular attention to the missionary interpretation of mission policies and the central issue of the development of indigenous churches.

## CHAPTER 3

### COLONIAL RULE AND TOKA-LEYA POLITICAL AND LAND RIGHTS

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#### Introduction

This Chapter discusses the factors leading to the occupation of North-Western Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company and later by the British Imperial Government which replaced Company rule. It also examines the main political and economic issues arising from the occupation and how these affected the indigenous population. It thus sets out the political background against which Christianity was propagated to the Toka-Leya by the missionaries. In the following Chapter (Chapter 4) the relationship between colonial occupation and missionary enterprise will be critically examined.

#### British South Africa Company - administrative and political functions.

The coming of British South Africa Company rule to the Toka-Leya may be understood in the wider context of British imperialism and private economic enterprise by large companies. The British Government was anxious to bring Central Africa under its influence, in view of the threat presented by the Boer advance to the north, and by the Germans who had occupied part of South-West Africa in 1883.<sup>1</sup> It was agreed between the Imperial Government and the Chartered Company that "the whole of the Company's field of operations was a British sphere of influence".<sup>2</sup> From an economic point of view, the

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1. Gann, L.H. 1958 Birth of a plural society p. 46

2. Ibid. p.50. Proclamation of the High Commissioner dated 13th April, 1891.



British South Africa Company obtained the Charter from the Imperial Government in order to operate "north of British Bechuanaland and the Transvaal, and east of Portuguese Angola",<sup>1</sup> having learned from the reports of explorers that mineral wealth was to be found in the 'Far North'.

The Chartered Company administered North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia (amalgamated in 1914 to form the Territory of Northern Rhodesia) through Administrators and other Company officials. In the case of North-Western Rhodesia, the Administrator and his officials were appointed by the High Commissioner<sup>2</sup> of South Africa, at the recommendation of the Company Directors. Through the High Commissioner, the Secretary of State (of the Imperial Government) retained the right to veto ordinances that were deemed to be harmful to African interest. But, in general, the Chartered Company was allowed to exercise a number of functions and to introduce new policies with little interference from the Imperial Government. Thus, it "was allowed to acquire new concessions, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, to acquire political powers, and to engage in banking, mining, making land grants, and other economic activities".<sup>3</sup> The Company was also empowered to collect taxes, bring the slave trade to an end and limit the judicial powers of the chiefs.<sup>4</sup> I will briefly discuss the Company's policy in relation to the slave trade, taxation and the judicial and administrative re-organization, in as far as it affected the Toka-Leya. Later, I will examine the Administration's land policy in the same light.

(a) The Slave Trade

Prior to the rule of the Chartered Company, the

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1. Gann. L.H. op. cit. p. 49.

2. Ibid. p. 63

3. Ibid. p. 49

4. Ibid. p. 49; also Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia, p. 179.

Toka-Leya were often raided by the Lozi for slaves and serfs. In more peaceful times, Toka-Leya chiefs sent slaves, in the form of young women and children, as tribute to the Lozi King and his indunas. With the coming of Company rule, slavery was abolished and Lewanika was induced into signing a proclamation permitting slaves to buy their freedom.<sup>1</sup> Thus many Toka-Leya who had been taken into slavery or serfdom began to return to Shungu. A number of people who had been born in slavery, of Toka-Leya mothers, also went to Shungu to live in their ancestral land. Kambole Mpatamatenga, who had been among the latter, but whose mother had escaped back to Shungu prior to 1893,<sup>2</sup> has expressed the gratitude felt by many Toka-Leya thus: "People have been saved from Lozi slavery. Europeans are good people, for if they had not come, we should still be in slavery. We would still be working for no pay, claimed in slavery."<sup>3</sup>

This shows that for at least a substantial proportion<sup>4</sup> of the Toka-Leya population, Company rule was welcomed in its early days. It is significant perhaps, that nearly all the early evangelists of the Paris Missionary Society and the Church of Christ were men who had been affected by slavery in their youth.

#### (b) Taxation

The Chartered Company introduced taxation among Africans in 1904 for two main reasons. It was anxious to raise some revenue in order to enable it to administer

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1. Gann, L.H. 1958. op. cit. pp. 55 - 56.

2. I mention this date because Kambole Mpatamatenga claims he was about five or six years old when the Ndebele attacked Shungu in 1893. He remembers being carried into the hills of the Zambezi Valley by his mother to escape capture.

3. Mpatamatenga, Kambole (n.d.) Kasimbo ambaendaabo. Vol. 2. (MS. Livingstone Museum).

4. There is clear evidence that the number of returning ex-slaves and serfs was significant in terms of the Toka-Leya population. In his (F/note cont'd on page 87)

the territory more effectively and also in order to induce Africans to move out from the rural areas to seek employment to earn cash - thus enabling the farmers to obtain cheap labour to develop their farms. The tax varied between 5 shillings and 10 shillings until it was unified at 10s for the whole of Northern Rhodesia. For a rural population that had previously lived in a non-monetary economy, the Company taxes were excessive. Adult males flocked to the few centres along the line of rail to find work on European farms or in European homes as cooks and gardeners. But the population of Europeans in the country was relatively low<sup>1</sup> and many Toka-Leya began to cross the Zambezi to find employment in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

The significance of taxation for the Toka-Leya, as we saw in Chapter 2, was that it disrupted rural and family life and thus caused much hardship for the men and women who were separated for long periods of time. An indirect effect of the migration of males to South Africa and Rhodesia was that some of them came into contact with independent religious movements which preached about the black man's position in the new economic and political order.

c) Administrative and Judicial Re-organization

i) administrative re-organization

From the very beginning of its occupation of Northern Rhodesia, the Chartered Company adopted a policy of direct

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(F/note cont'd from page 86) Report on the station of Livingstone, 1904-05, the missionary, Coisson remarks: "The population is increasing in Batoka whilst it disappears elsewhere. The Plateau is recovering its inhabitants, taken away as slaves by the Marotse in the good old days and the young people who have seen what a free country is and what individual freedom gives."

. According to the Census Report of 1st September, 1911, (3/7 of the National Archives of Zambia), the white population of the whole of Northern Rhodesia was 1,494 only.

rule, at least in theory. Company officials were supposed to take over the administration of the so-called tribal areas and the chiefs used as agencies of Government, with no real power such as they had exercised prior to the occupation. On the other hand, it was the desire of both the Chartered Company and the Imperial Government that traditional African institutions should be maintained "so far as these were not incompatible with the rule of the Company".<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated 9th October, 1907, a Company official<sup>2</sup> explained to Codrington, the then Administrator of North-Western Rhodesia, the nature and merits of direct rule in the Batoka District:

The theory of Districts and Sub-Districts, District Commissioners and Collectors was not arrived at haphazard, but is based upon the indigenous system of administration and a desire to preserve it.

The people of a District regard the Commissioners as their chief, the Collectors as his Sub-Chiefs, whilst the Indunas of Native Divisions and the Headmen of Kraals complete the links of a chain which extends from the individual native to the Administrator, to whom the District Commissioner is responsible.<sup>3</sup>

Accordingly, the rulers who had dominated Shungu in the nineteenth century lost much of their power. They were now replaced by District Commissioners and Tax Collectors whose duties might include "road making, giving advice on succession disputes, supervising the growing of food near an administrative station, or even killing man-eating lions,"<sup>4</sup> apart from collecting tax.

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1. Report of the Commission appointed to enquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia (the Pimm Commission) p. 179.
  2. Probably F.V. Worthington, who was then Secretary for Native Affairs.
  3. Letter from ( ? ) to Mr. Codrington about revision of Administration with confidential reports on officers in Province. 1907 Oct. 9th Acc. 3465
  4. The Pimm Commission p. 179.



Before the establishment of Company rule among the Toka-Leya, with the setting up of an administrative post at Livingstone in 1898, a number of rulers claimed influence or control over portions of Shungu. But their spheres of influence were ill-defined and often arbitrary. Now, with the loosening of the Lozi grip over them, they vied with each other for recognition by the Company administration. Among these rulers were Musokotwane (who had dominated Shungu for over half-a-century); Sekute (who had re-established himself at the Falls with the support of the Lozi King, Lewanika, having served as his economic agent); Mukuni; Siakasipa; Sekutenyana (Sekute's son who had entertained ambitions to assume the Sekuteship); Katapazi (a relative of Sekute who had moved to the north-eastern part of Shungu following the occupation of the territory around the Falls by the white settlers); Mooka; Kooma; Katombora; Silwela; Mapanda; Adonsi (a descendant of Segwanyana who, in the nineteenth century had exercised much influence in the area beyond the Sinde Stream to the west of the Falls and along the Zambezi River), and many others.

It would appear that in the initial stages, the Administration dealt with each one of the rulers who claimed influence over sections of the Toka-Leya individually and did not seek to establish 'superior' rulers or chiefs. But later, in order to reduce the volume of administrative work, only five Toka-Leya chiefs were given a measure of recognition. These were Musokotwane, Mukuni, Sekute, Siakasipa and Katapazi. Four of them had played a prominent role at one time or another, prior to the colonial occupation.

The Company's policy of direct rule, however was beset with insurmountable difficulties. The territory was vast, but the Company could only afford to engage on contract a few officials to carry out the administration. The problems of travel and communication added to the immensity of the task. In the final analysis, Company



officials could afford to visit the areas under their control perhaps only once or twice in a year. This meant that routine administration had to be left to the chiefs and village headmen, even if no defined powers were given them initially. This difficulty was partly resolved later with the Proclamation of Native Administration of 1916 which gave chiefs a measure of recognition and defined more clearly the relations between Government and traditional authorities. The Proclamation "made provision for the appointment and dismissal of recognized chiefs and defined their duties. Administrative Officers were made responsible for the general control of their districts and chiefs and headmen could be punished for failing to carry out their 'lawful' orders. Natives were required to carry out their 'reasonable' orders or requests both of the chief and the Native Commissioner, and under this provision chiefs were able to exercise considerable control over their people. In particular they had the service of customary labour for their gardens and paid labour for Government was recruited through them. The chiefs were paid small subsidies by Government".<sup>1</sup> Yet it was not until the Imperial Government took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia in 1924 that chiefs were given more power under the policy of indirect rule.

(ii) judicial re-organization

Prior to the occupation, Toka-Leya rulers, as indeed many other rulers, had exercised a wide range of judicial functions. They were empowered by their people to try all manner of cases, ranging from murder to theft. On assuming control over North-Western Rhodesia, the Company, in keeping with its policy of direct rule, did not recognise traditional courts and assumed, at least in theory, all the judicial powers that chiefs, their advisers and village headmen had enjoyed. Thus, the amended Royal Charter, entrusting the judicial administration of North-Western

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1. The Pimm Commission p. 179.

and North-Eastern Rhodesia states:

In the administration of justice to the said peoples or inhabitants careful regard shall always be had to the customs and laws of the class or tribe or nation to which the parties respectively belong, especially with regard to the holding, possession, transfer and disposition of lands and goods, and testate or intestate succession thereto, and marriages, divorces, legitimacy, and other rights of property and personal rights, but subject to any British laws which may be in force in any of the territories aforesaid and applicable to the peoples or inhabitants thereof.<sup>1</sup>

Clearly, this entailed that only British courts of laws, set up by the Company could hear cases of any nature. But as was the case with regard to general administration, the Company found itself ill-equipped to deal with judicial matters relating to Africans and "Tribal chiefs continued to administer customary law, with only occasional interference from the B.S.A.<sup>2</sup> Company officials"<sup>3</sup>. It was not until after the Imperial Government took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia that recognition was extended to traditional courts. As was the case with general administration, traditional courts were recognised in the spirit of the policy of indirect rule, a policy which was to continue until the end of colonial rule in the territory.

#### The land question and the creation of the Toka and Baleya Reserves

When in 1924 the Imperial Government took over the

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1. Royal Charter of Incorporation of the British South Africa Company, Oct. 29th 1889, Section 14. Quoted in Hoover, E.L., J.C. Piper and F.O. Spalding: 'History; The evolution of the Zambian Courts System', in: Zambia law journal, p.4.

2. B.S.A.: British South Africa.

3. Hoover, E.L. and others. op. cit. p. 5.

administration of Northern Rhodesia, it found itself bedevilled by the same problems that had pre-occupied the British South Africa Company. Among these was that of land rights for both the white settlers and the indigenous Africans. While anxious to alienate as much land as possible to the former, both the Chartered Company and the Imperial Government did not wish to leave the Africans in a position where they became totally dispossessed of land.

The solution to this problem was thought to lie in the creation of reserves for Africans, known as 'Native Reserves', for the exclusive use of, and occupation by, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia. Accordingly, Native Reserves were set up under Orders in Council dated respectively 29th January, 1929, 5th November, 1929, and 22nd March, 1928.<sup>1</sup> Of all the land in Northern Rhodesia, 6½ million acres were included in the concessions held by the British South Africa Company and the North Chartered Company,<sup>2</sup> 2½ million acres were alienated to non-Africans for agricultural and residential purposes, 35 million acres were set apart as Native Reserves and, apart from Barotseland, 100 million acres became Crown Land".<sup>3</sup>

Three kinds of reserve were set up in the country (see Map 4). The first was "in the area along the railway line, the second in the extreme north-east in the area adjoining Lake Tanganyika, and the third in the Fort Jameson and Petauke districts to the south-east"<sup>4</sup>. As the railway line ran through Toka-Leya territory, the Toka-Leya were included in the reserves along the railway line. They were placed in two reserves, separated by the

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1. The Pimm Report. P. 57.

2. A Company similar to the British South Africa Company, operating in the eastern and northern parts of Northern Rhodesia before amalgamation.

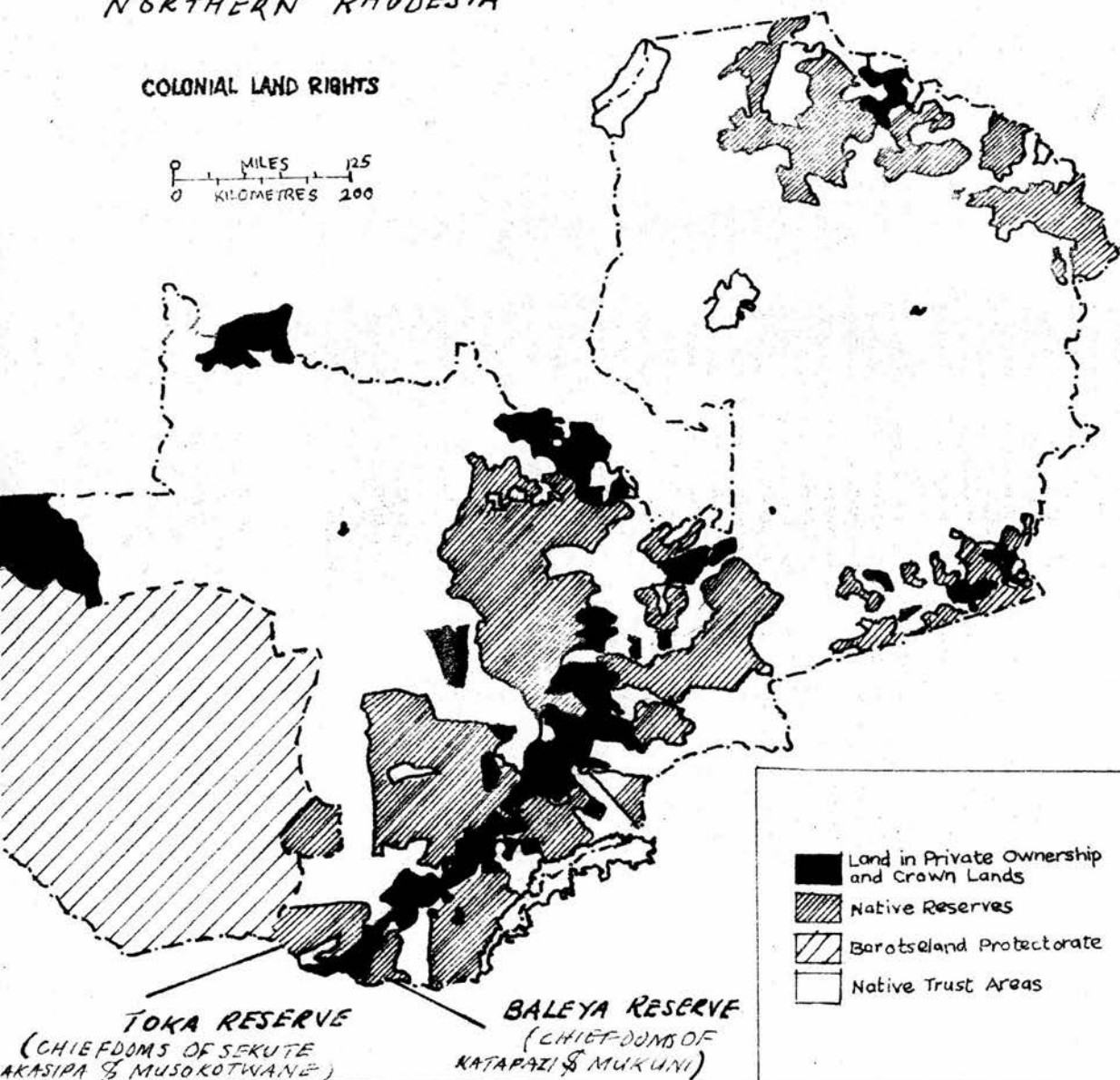
3. The Pimm Report. p. 56.

4. The Pimm Report. p. 56.

# NORTHERN RHODESIA

## COLONIAL LAND RIGHTS

0 MILES 125  
0 KILOMETRES 200



P 4. THE NATIVE RESERVES



railway line - the Toka and the Baleya. The former included the Toka of Musokotwane and Siakasipa and the Leya and Subiya of Sekute, and comprised (in 1926) 1,170,000 acres, with an estimated population of 9,473.<sup>1</sup> The Baleya Reserve included the Leya of Mukuni and Katapazi,<sup>2</sup> and comprised (in 1926) 282,000 acres with an estimated population of 3,062.<sup>3</sup>

In determining the extent and position of the reserves along the railway line, the Commission appointed in 1926 to look into the problem laid down what they regarded as "necessary and fundamental principles".<sup>4</sup>

- (1) Reserves are to be situated in country away from the railway line but where possible with lanes or corridors giving access to it.
- (2) They are to be homogeneous and not intermingled with areas of European settlement.
- (3) They are to be tribal so that no part of a tribe is cut off by intervening land from the remainder.
- (4) They are to be permanent and perpetual.
- (5) They are to be suitable and of sufficient size.
- (6) They should be an indivisible part of a general scheme for the improvement and assistance of the native.<sup>5</sup>

In the creation of the Toka and Baleya Reserves, the first and second principles were more or less observed, but to effect the second one, substantial sections of the African population had to be moved to make way for European settlement, and the development of the railway line, leading to the mining areas. Chief Musokotwane was moved, together with a substantial section of his population,

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1. The PimmReport, Appendix pp 364 - 365.

2. See map of the Livingstone District. 1931.

3. The PimmReport, Appendix pp. 364 - 365.

4. The Report. p. 63.

5. The PimmReport. p. 64.



from the fertile Lukuni area where, in 1886, Holub had observed agricultural prosperity. The chief's capital was now moved as far away as Senkobo, where it was situated within a few miles of Chief Siakasipa's residence. The new area was partly rocky and partly sandy, so that its agricultural potential was lower than that of the original site. Chief Sekute, too, was compelled to abandon yet another site. Since moving away from the 'Old Drift' in 1902, he had established his capital at Chundu, some 14 miles west of Livingstone along the Zambezi River and just beyond the Sinde stream. This area was now declared Crown Land, so that part of it was alienated to white farmers while some of it was declared a Forest Reserve. There was no alternative for the chief and his people but to move farther back into the woodlands where water was scarce and agricultural prospects less promising. Chief Mukuni lost some portions of his land to the east of the Nansanzu Stream. Both Siakasipa and Katapazi also lost some of their territory near the railway line.

The Commission failed to fulfil the third of its conditions that the Reserves were "to be tribal, so that no part of a tribe is cut off by intervening land from the remainder". To begin with, the Leya were placed under two separate Reserves, with those of Mukuni and Katapazi coming under the Baleya Reserve while Sekute's Leya, together with the Toka of Musokotwane and Siakasipa occupied the Toka Reserve.<sup>1</sup> The two Reserves were separated by intervening Crown Land occupied by, or designated for, white settlers. Secondly, there were strong ethnic ties between the Leya of Sekute and those of Katapazi, as the latter are said to have branched off from the former. Thirdly, with the shifting of a substantial African population from Crown Land to the Reserves, the Administration was obliged to re-adjust the chiefdom boundaries, so as to avoid concentrating large populations in chiefdoms

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1. There were also Subiya included in this Reserve under Sekute.

that had been reduced in size as a result of the new land policy. This move did not prove popular with some chiefs. Thus as late as 1962, Chief Mukuni could complain that: "when the Government made census Books Musokotwane got [the] chance of controlling over three quarters of my villages and thus he became a superior to me".<sup>1</sup> The constant re-adjustment of the boundary between Sekute and Musokotwane's chiefdoms has been a source of friction between the two chiefs who have each solicited for the help of the Administration.

Some chiefdoms came to include different ethnic groups, as a result of the re-structuring of boundaries recommended by the Commission. Sekute's chiefdom was a case in point, following his removal from the immediate Falls area where he had previously established a concrete claim to some portions of land along the Zambezi, west of Livingstone. When this land was taken away from him, too, and declared Crown Land, Sekute had now little territory that he could claim as his own. But partly because of his previous associations with the much respected Lewanika (from the Colonial Administration's point of view), and partly perhaps because of his own historical connections with Shungu, Sekute was given new territory extending westwards but mostly away from the Zambezi River. His new chiefdom now included groups of Leya and Subiya who had previously been under petty rulers. But because the latter were disorganized, Sekute who, moreover, claimed Subiya and Leya blood, was found suitable as new ruler. The Native Authorities Ordinance of 1929 had empowered the Governor to appoint chiefs in special cases, and this was one.

The net result of the new land policy was that more and suitable land was taken away from the Toka-Leya, so

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1. Letter to the District Officer-in-Charge, Kalomo dated 5th September, 1962 (District Administration Files, Livingstone).

that altogether, they now had less land for settlement and agricultural purposes. The pattern was the same all over the country, but more especially along the railway line. As one scholar has observed, "... the Native Reserves became more appendages to the alienated farmlands of the European settlers. Designed to preserve African lands from further settler's encroachment, many of the Reserves became little more than rural ghettos. Suffering an influx of the dispossessed from the alienated lands and dependants of farm workers from the trust territories, the lands of the Reserves were soon over-populated, with densities sometimes reaching over 100 per square mile, twelve times greater than the safe ecological limit.<sup>1</sup> Despite periodic attempts by the Colonial Administration to resettle surplus populations on unoccupied Crown Lands and to improve African agriculture,<sup>2</sup> these Reserves are still over-grazed and over-cultivated and the soil exhaustion in some areas is severe."

The loss of substantial portions of land by the Toka-Leya does not support the Commission's fifth condition that Reserves were "to be suitable and of sufficient size". Neither did the fact that most Toka-Leya were now confined to places with little water to sustain their livestock throughout the year. Another Commission was to admit some ten years later that little had been done to rectify the water shortage situation. All the eight wells sunk in the Livingstone District between 1926 and 1937 had proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Although the population density in the Toka-Leya Reserves never rose that high, the scarcity of land was still significant because it had to be shared by both men and their cattle.
  2. Part of the land along the Zambezi River on the Western side of Livingstone was, indeed, returned to Sekute and his people, but the chief was evidently still not satisfied. He wanted all the land along the river returned to him.
  3. Siddle, D.J. 'Colonial land rights' in D.H. Hywell, op.cit. p. 48.
  4. The Pimm Report, p. 65.

In this Chapter, we have noted that while Company rule might have been welcomed initially by the Toka-Leya for bringing to an end the slave traffic that had helped to depopulate Shungu, its subsequent measures proved disruptive to the social structure. Taxation and the alienation of the fertile land and watering spots to European farmers by the Administration were measures that were resented and have had a profound effect in disrupting both kinship ties and ethnic identity. Between 1898 and 1930 when these measures were introduced, first by the British South Africa Company and later, by the British Imperial Government, the missionaries appeared to be the friends of the Africans by speaking out for their rights. This point will be explored more fully later.

## C H A P T E R 4

### THE COMING OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND OTHER CHURCHES

Prior to the colonial occupation of Central Africa, only a few missionaries had reached Shungu. One of these was Dr. David Livingstone who appeared at Shungu in 1855 and in 1860. But Livingstone's main interest was exploration. The Toka-Leya remember him more especially for the Western material goods he introduced at Shungu. Thus commented the missionary, Louis Jalla, of the Paris Missionary Society, writing from Moru in northern Shungu:

Among the [Batoka] inhabitants was a native whom Livingstone had once taken to the coast and brought back in 1860 ... Of all Livingstone's teaching, this worthy man had retained only one thing - namely, that at the coast they would all grow rich. You see legend is already beginning to mingle with history in all that concerns Livingstone. For instance, all the Batoka maintain that the Doctor entered the abyss of the Victoria Falls, that he held converse with the deity who hides there and calls the water down, and that he brought pearls up from it, with the news that whoever penetrated thither would find great treasures.<sup>1</sup>

Coillard followed suit and visited the Toka-Leya briefly in 1878. But by then, the forces that led to the partitioning of Africa had been set in motion.

The missionary entry into Central Africa would appear to have been connected with the colonial occupation of the region. Thus, soon after the Berlin Conference of 1881, several missionary societies made their way to various

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1. Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa.  
p.60.



part of Central Africa, sometimes, as in the cases of Coillard in Barotseland, and the London Missionary Society in Northern Zambia, preceding the colonial administrator and settler. But the latter were expected to come sooner or later, anyway.<sup>1</sup>

T. Price has suggested the motives behind missionary ventures in Africa generally. These have a particular relevance to the missionaries who went to Shungu and, indeed, to Zambia as a whole. He writes:

Some were inspired by pity for unbelievers doomed to hell for eternity, who could only be saved if they knew of, and accepted, the work of Christ. Some were in revolt against the corruption and self-satisfaction of their fellow-Christians at home, and trusted that new Christians would display purity and primitive virtue. Some, notably the artisan missionaries, sought a sphere in which they could do the work that they had mastered, not for the profit of an employer, but as an act of offering to their unseen Lord. And some, judging by their subsequent careers as traders and transporters, were seeking escape from the pressures of rigid convention and overcrowding in their own society.<sup>2</sup>

Yet the proliferation of missionary societies in the nineteenth century may be seen in wider terms, embracing the attitudes of the general public in Europe and America, with regard, not only to the scourge of slavery, but also to the effects of colonialism on the

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1. Coillard established his first mission station at Sesheke in Barotseland in 1885, some 4 years before the British South Africa Company was given a Charter to make treaties with chiefs north of the Zambezi. Similarly, the London Missionary Society established a station at Fwambo in northern Zambia in 1887, long before the Chartered Company assumed effective control of North-Eastern Rhodesia.
  2. Price, T. 1968. 'The missionary struggle with complexity,' in C.G. Baeta (Ed.) Christianity in tropical Africa. p. 101.

non-European peoples of the world. The strangulation of the slave trade by legitimate trade and commerce, far from bringing security to the colonized peoples, posed other problems relating to the relations between the European colonial administrator and settler on the one hand, and the colonized people on the other. In this context, the missionary was to act as the conscience of the West, stemming the excesses of the administrator and settler against the indigenous people, and initiating the latter through the mechanism of Christianity, into the spiritual and moral ethic of the West, so as to make them more acceptable to the Western mind. The missionaries thus acted as catalysts in the initiation of colonized peoples into Western civilization. In so doing, however, they also acted as catalysts in the disintegration of their customs, traditions and beliefs, as these were, in the main, incompatible with Western values.

At this point, a brief historical account of the coming of the various missions to Shungu will help to give the setting for a more detailed analysis of missionary activities later.

(a) The Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PMS)

The PMS was an inter-denominational Protestant organization formed in France in 1821. It drew its support from Switzerland, Italy and Britain, apart from France itself. In Africa, the society first established mission stations in Basutoland (Lesotho) in the 1830's at a time when colonial forces, involving the Boers and the British, were spreading northwards from the southern tip of southern Africa.

Coillard, the founder of the Zambezi Mission, anteceded the British South Africa Company on the Zambezi by a few years, but it was clear by the time he visited the Zambezi in 1878 that part of the area would fall to a colonial power. His main fear was that the Boers or the

Germans, who had been making spectacular advances towards the north, might well claim the Zambezi and the area to the north. As Gann states, "Coillard was ... thinking of foreign dangers; he was staggered by the German annexation of South-West Africa, and he feared the approach of white gold-seekers and adventurers without proper government"<sup>1</sup>. He had had a taste of Boer administration in the Orange Free State and did not like it. He was thus greatly concerned about what might happen to the indigenous people north of the Zambezi if the area came under the Boers or, for that matter, the Germans whose hard-fisted methods were no better. Coillard was in favour of the British as the lesser evil. Thus, when in 1890 Rhodes sent Captain Lochner to sign a treaty with Lewanika over land and mineral rights, Coillard used all his influence to persuade the king to agree to the treaty. Lewanika was later to regret this step for, as he subsequently discovered, he had surrendered all claims to the land and the people in his vassal states to the north.<sup>2</sup>

The important point here is that Coillard, while opening the Zambezi to missionary work before the arrival of the colonial administrator and settler, fully expected the Zambezi to fall to a colonial power sooner or later. He saw his role, in the circumstances, as that of protector of African interests, to the point of choosing a 'better' colonial power for the Zambezi.

The focal area of the Zambezi Mission was Barotseland, which at that time included Kazungula, the area inhabited by Subiya and Toka-Leya to the far west of Shungu. It was at Kazungula that the first mission station that actively involved the Toka-Leya was established in 1889. A number

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1. Gann, L.H. 1958. The birth of a plural society p. 55

2. Coillard, 1971. op. cit. p. 407.



of the people who were later to become evangelists of the PMS were recruited from here. They included some of Toka-Leya who were the slaves of Subiya dignitaries.

The station of Mosi-Oa-Thunya, as the PMS station of the Victoria Falls was known for some time, was established in 1898 to replace that of Kazungula. Prior to the construction of the railway line, Kazungula was the trading centre of the middle Zambezi and therefore the main crossing point. A significant African population grew there, as a result. But as the Victoria Falls area gained some trading importance with the approaching railway line, the African population was expected to drift there, thus the missionary strategy of moving the mission station as well. The Kazungula station was accordingly closed down in 1899, but re-opened for a few more years after 1904.

In 1901, the PMS opened a mission annexe at Siakasipa's village, some 20 miles north of the main station. The Siakasipa area was then more densely populated than most parts of Shungu. Furthermore, the chief and his people were found to be more receptive to Christianity than the chiefs in other parts of Shungu.

When the town of Livingstone was moved after 1905 from the old site (the 'Old Drift') by the Zambezi to a sandy belt some five miles up the northern plateau, the PMS began to make preparations to move the station as well, although the missionary-in-charge was clearly against this to begin with. Nevertheless, in 1911, the station was moved to Livingstone. It was from there that the station missionary was to direct his missionary activities toward the evangelization of Shungu.

A number of other annexes were opened later, but these were often short-lived. They included Sinde (not to be confused with Sinde of the Church of Christ), Katwamanzila, Katombora and Kazungula.

(b) The Church of Christ (CC)

The Church of Christ established among the Toka-Leya as well as the Tonga draws its missionaries mainly from the United States of America, particularly the south and the mid-west. For a missionary body, it had unusual beginnings in Northern Rhodesia, having been introduced by an African, Peter Masiya, who is said to have originally come from Nyasaland (now Malawi).

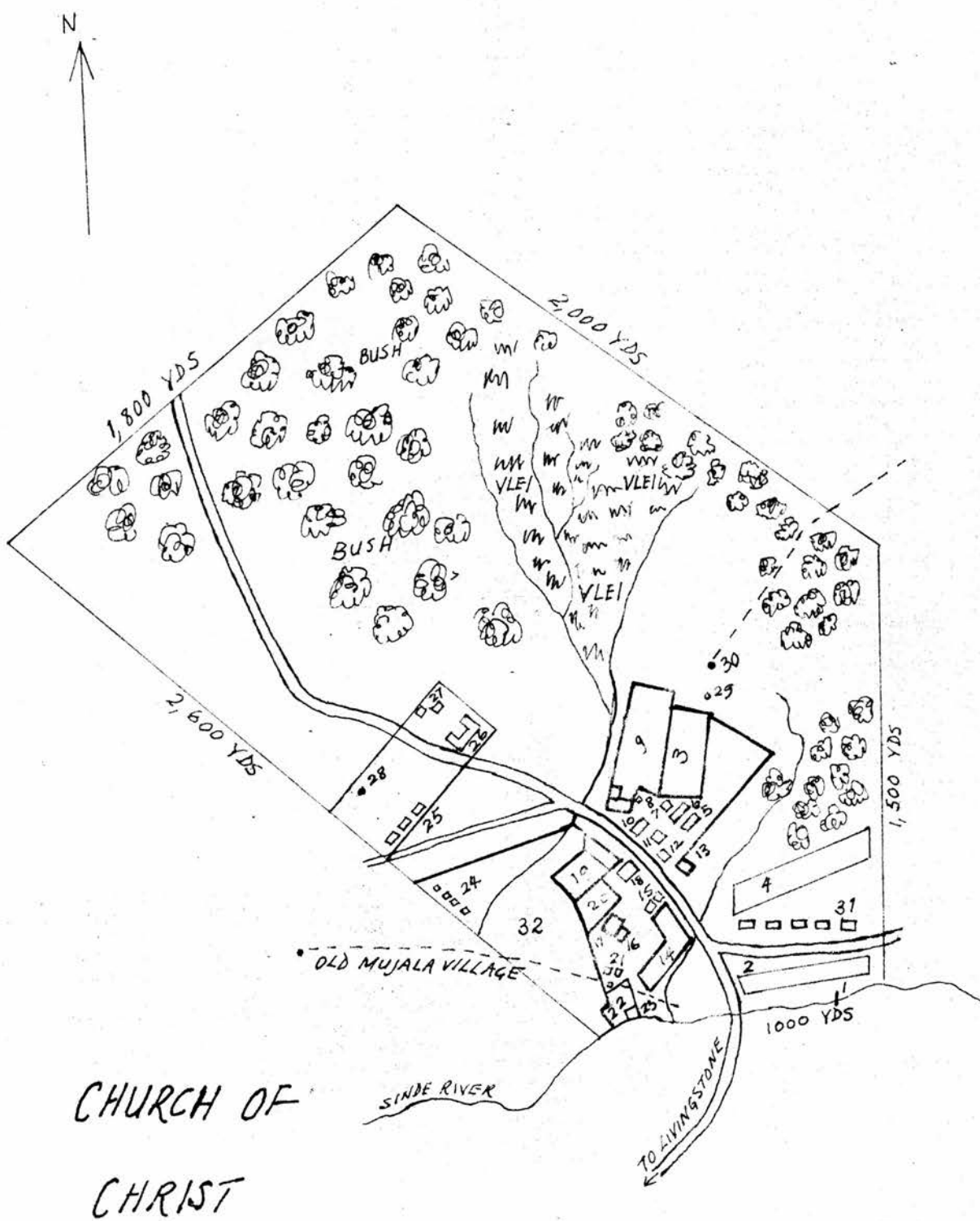
Masiya was converted to Christianity in Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, in 1909 by his employer, John Sherriff. Originally a New Zealander, Sherriff had come to Southern Rhodesia to prospect, but having failed at this, he turned to his old trade, stone-masonry, which he combined with evangelism until he was financially sound to devote all his time to religious matters.

Masiya established his first church at Mukuni village in 1910 where he also did some teaching. He was so successful that three years later he established another church at Mujala's village, in chief Musokotwane's area. In 1923, Sherriff sent a white missionary, an American named W.N. Short, to take charge of the Northern Rhodesia missionary work. Short built Sinde Mission on the very site where Masiya had built his church. In addition, the white missionary also acquired the 1,000 acres surrounding the mission station, the land being near the railway line, and therefore eligible for white settlement (see Map 5).

The coming of the white missionary to the Toka-Leya field may have been prompted by Government Proclamation No. 28 of 1921 which stipulated that only certified teachers could teach in schools in the country, and Masiya was not a qualified teacher. After the coming of Short, many other American missionary families followed to open up several more stations.

Unable to establish mission stations in the chiefdoms





CHURCH OF  
CHRIST

SINDE MISSION : 1000 ACRES

MAP 5. SINDE MISSION

of Sekute and Mukuni because of rivalry from the PMS, the CC missionaries nevertheless managed to build schools in Mukuni's area as well as in Livingstone town itself, leaving the Sekute area - which in any case was a difficult field - to the PMS. Their mission expansion, however, became directed towards the north among the Tonga of Kalomo and Kabanga, who are closely related to the Toka of Musokotwane and Siakasipa, among whom they were already established. Kabanga Mission in Chief Simwatachela's chiefdom was founded in 1927, followed by Namwianga Mission near the administrative township of Kalomo in 1932. The latter mission was to become by far the most developed of the stations of the Church of Christ in terms of missionary personnel, educational facilities and financial investment.

The establishment of the Church of Christ was to offer the first real challenge to the PMS missionaries as a rival organization working in the same field.

(c) The Universities Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)

Although the UMCA in the early days of Northern Rhodesia had its headquarters at Livingstone, it did not establish any mission station among the Toka-Leya. There is no doubt that the PMS missionaries were unwilling to let the Society set up a competitive mission in their sphere of influence, as subsequent correspondence revealed. Bishop J.E. Hine, who had been appointed Bishop of Northern Rhodesia in 1909, was a fervant missionary who travelled all over the country to survey places where UMCA missions could be founded and was at one time thinking quite seriously of establishing a mission among the Toka-Leya. The Log Book kept at St. Andrew's Church has an entry dated 1911 March 28, which states that one of the centres planned for mission work was "Among some of the boys (other than those taught by Mr. Jalla of the French Protestant Mission, who are chiefly Barotse, living in and

around Livingstone)" in the Livingstone area.<sup>1</sup> But for the reason stated above, this did not take place. In the Livingstone area, therefore, Bishop Hine had to confine himself to giving sermons to the English community of the town and to its thirteen African Christians, most of whom came from Nyasaland and probably East Africa. A short-lived school was established in Livingstone in 1911. Hine's successor, however, is listed in the Log Book as having visited "Mkuni's village" on September 19, 1917 - probably the only visit the Society attempted among the Toka-Leya.

(d) The Roman Catholic Church (RCC)

In the early days of Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone had no resident Catholic priest and was then under the Prefecture of Broken Hill (now Kabwe). A priest came from there from time to time to minister to the white population of the town. An early attempt by the Jesuits to found a mission station in the Toka-Leya area proved a failure, again because the PMS would not entertain another denominational organization in the area they claimed to be truly theirs.

The importance of Livingstone for the Catholics lay in its position then as the gateway to Barotseland, where they had been trying to establish missions since 1881. Thus by establishing their headquarters in Livingstone, they could penetrate Barotseland with ease. In 1931 the Capuchin Fathers were permitted to establish themselves in the Livingstone area. They immediately set up a mission in the town. Their second mission was set up in 1961 in the Sekute area, but apart from their first mission they built several primary schools in Toka-Leya territory.

(f) Other Missions and Churches

(i) The Seventh Day Adventists Mission

This mission established itself in the northern Tonga

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1. Log Book of St. Andrew's Church, Livingstone. Vol.1.  
May, 1910 - Nov. 1946.

ea at Chikankata in 1921. Its efforts to establish other mission station in Livingstone in the 1920's failed, though it was able to build a church which is well tended today. Despite its failure to establish a mission station the church has a number of followers in rural Shungu.

i) The New Apostolic Church or African Apostolic Church (NA)

The church was introduced to Livingstone by Lozi grants who had gone to work in South Africa in the early enties. It did not make an impact upon the Livingstone sidents until after 1930 when its leaders became officially cognized by Government and obtained a plot for a church ilding next to the PMS site.

Today the church has spread all over Shungu, being rticularly strong in areas not frequented by the ssionaries. Livingstone, however, remains the base.

The New Apostolic Church has a wider appeal to Shungu igrants, particularly the Lozi and allied groups such the Kwangwa, Kwandi, Nkoya and Nyengo, to the extent at it is known in Livingstone as the Lozi Church. Many ka-Leya particularly those of the older generations e drawn to it.

Salisbury in Rhodesia remains the headquarters of e N.A., supplying church members with all the literature ey need.

ii) The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME)

The AME was introduced to Northern Rhodesia by vid Khomela, a Tswana. He was appointed pastor at vingstone as well as Presiding Elder for the new district Northern Rhodesia after 12th January, 1931, when the lonial Government recognized the church.<sup>1</sup> The desire

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Hastings, A. 1975; 'John Lester Membe', in Ranger, T.O., and John Weller (Eds.) Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa. p. 184.

to have the church established came from indigenous Africans of Northern Rhodesia who had come into contact with its Church leaders both in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

Today, Zambia is part of the 17th episcopal district. Livingstone forms part of the annual conference of South Zambia.

The AME originally ran one or more schools in the town of Livingstone, but probably due to lack of funds and a shortage of qualified teachers, the schools do not appear to have continued into the 1940's.

It may be pointed out for purposes of this study, that earlier in 1900 the ex-PMS Suto evangelist, Willie Mokalapa, had introduced the AME to Barotseland, soon after breaking away from the PMS. Makalapa's influence, although not quite appreciated by historians, was very profound in Barotseland and at Shungu. The failure of this first attempt at establishing the Church was due to many factors which will be examined later.

The Church has spread to various parts of Shungu. But its membership remains largely foreign. It attracts black Rhodesian emigrants to Shungu, although a few Leya who do not wish to join the more established churches in their areas, find it a convenient alternative.

The AME still has connections with outside churches, particularly the parent church in America. On the whole, however, it appears to be largely self-governing and self-supporting.

#### (iv) The Watch Tower or Jehovah's Witnesses (W.T.)

This is the earliest of the independent churches, having appeared in Livingstone early in the 1920's. It easily spread to the rural areas where it was received



enthusiastically. But concerted Government and missionary action was soon to limit its spread and effect at Shungu. It was not until the 1950's that the sect began to have an impact on rural Shungu.

The Watch Tower, like the New Apostolic Church, was introduced to Shungu by labour migrants returning from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. It has been characterised, throughout its existence in the country, by confrontation between its members and the various Administrations since 1925, starting with the execution of its first African leader in Northern Rhodesia, Tom Nyirenda, for alleged religious murders.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE MISSIONARY GROUPS AT SHUNGU

#### Introduction

In this brief Chapter, I give a comparative analysis of the internal structural organization of the Zambezi Mission (PMS), the Church of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church at Shungu, so as to place the three missionary groups in a wider perspective.

The Zambezi Mission, as has already been indicated in Chapter 4, comprised missionaries of French, Italian, Swiss and, on a more limited scale, British origin. It had strong connections with the Lesotho Mission, of which it was an offshoot. It was controlled by an Executive Commission whose headquarters were in Paris. The Society was Protestant and inter-denominational. The Commission had Executive Committees in each of the four countries from which the missionaries were drawn.

The Zambezi Mission had an Executive Committee based at the mission's headquarters at Sesheke and later, permanently at Sefula, in Barotseland (Western Province). This Committee was elected by, and responsible to, the Zambezi Conference which met annually to consider matters relating to the material and spiritual welfare of the mission. The first station of the Zambezi Mission north of the Zambezi River was established in 1885 at Sesheke in Barotseland. Kazungula became the first station at Shungu with its founding in 1889. The Mosi-Oa-Thunya station, later known as Livingstone, was established in 1898.

The CC comprised missionaries from the south-western

part of the U.S.A. It was a fundamentalist organization, lacking a rigid structure both in America and in the field. Its first station, Sinde, was established in 1823. Later, the Namwianga and Kabanga stations were founded to the north and north-east of Shungu.

The RCC comprised Irish missionaries, mostly Capuchins, but also a few Franciscans. The first station was founded in 1931 in Livingstone. Much later, in 1961, Makunka Mission was founded on the border of the Sekute and Musokotwane chiefdoms. There is also a sub-station at Mukuni village, founded about the same time as Makunka. Like all Catholic churches, the Livingstone Mission is ultimately responsible to the Vatican. There is today in the Livingstone Diocese, which includes the whole of the Western Province, as well as part of the North-Western Province, a Zambian Bishop with his headquarters in Livingstone, 39 priests, 110 sisters, and 28 brothers.

#### Internal organization

Conflict was less pronounced in the RCC, whose authoritarianism and rigid hierarchy minimised the possibility of the priests in the field questioning the authority of the Church at Rome. There was little conflict, too, between CC missionaries and their sponsoring congregations. This was probably because of the close relationships that existed between individual missionaries and their sponsors which often bordered on ties of kinship. The lack of a rigidly structured sponsoring society in America also did away with bureaucratic procedures and the prospect of accountability to which other missionaries working under more formal missionary organizations were subject, and which were a constant source of conflict. In addition, because CC doctrine encouraged self-support in the field, the missionaries often engaged in lucrative business ventures, thus easing the pressure on their sponsors for financial support. This had the effect of removing the danger of financial disputes which characterised the PMS, for example.

The relationship between the Zambezi missionaries and the Executive Commission of the PMS in Paris was characterised by policy and financial disputes throughout the mission's entire life on the Zambezi. The roots of this conflict lay partly in the structural organization of the PMS. Unlike the missionaries of the CC, PMS missionaries were dependent almost entirely on support from the mother body. They could not engage in business ventures as was the case with those of the CC. Unlike RCC missionaries who received lasting support for the missionary enterprise through the 'Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of the peoples,'<sup>1</sup> PMS missionaries were often threatened with closure of their Zambezi Mission because of lack of financial and personnel support. This was due to the fact that the Executive Commission in Paris found it increasingly difficult to co-ordinate its efforts to raise finance and personnel with its sub-committees in Italy, Switzerland and Britain, especially during the years of the depression. This inevitably led to a feeling of frustration on the part of the missionaries.

The problem of finance, in particular, exacerbated the already tenuous relationship between the Executive Commission and the Zambezi missionaries who were constantly demanding salary or allowance increases. Some missionaries even threatened to resign unless their pay was raised. For instance, in a letter to the Executive Commission, dated 20th September, 1892, the missionaries warned of the imminent departure of one of their number: "Mr. Goy wrote a letter dated 26th November, 1891, in which he asked for an increase in fees. Mr. Jalla officially said that if this increase was not granted he would resign..."<sup>2</sup> The wife of the missionary, Aldophe Jalla, took a very critical view of the Executive Commission's financial

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1. Dancel, M.L. 1971: Old and new in Southern Shona independent churches. P. 202.

2. See Appendix 1.

contribution toward the support of the missionaries of the Zambezi: "We send the missionaries out", she complained, "and give them just enough to live on. We are generous in heaping praise upon these brothers who have renounced the world, yet by our avarice, we make them live the life of a wasteful child ... Everyday, men come forward who through love for the pagans, and love through devotion to missionary work, are ready to go far afield and to whom one only gives for their subsistence the absolute necessities. Are they just ? It is useless to ask whether they are generous, these Christians who engage their delegates at the smallest possible price but still consider what they do give as plenty".<sup>1</sup>

Unlike RCC missionaries, those of the Zambezi Mission espoused democratic principles which often set them on a collision course with the Executive Commission in Paris. They spent much time questioning, reversing or correcting the policies or decisions of the mother body. At a Conference in 1892, they rejected the Executive Commission's right to determine conditions of service for Zambezi missionaries and artisans and proceeded to draw up their own which they then forwarded to the mother body for ratification.<sup>2</sup> In a letter to the Commission, they attacked its policy of selecting missionaries for the Zambezi, which they considered unfair. They accused the mother body of preferring Frenchmen to other nationalities connected with the PMS. "Another point arising from your letter," they wrote, "in which you announce and recommend Mr. Vollet, is that you seem to wish that the Zambezi Mission were entirely French. Of course we are French as far as guidance is concerned and we wish to remain so. But is not one of our distinctive features that we are to become international ? We believe that the field should

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1. Mme Adolphe Jalla. 'A thought about Livingstone', in News of the Zambezi May 1903, p. 43.

2. See Appendix 1.



be open to any young Frenchman, Italian, Swiss, German, Belgian or Englishman called by God and well-prepared for the work".<sup>1</sup>

The missionaries resented the bureaucratic structure of the PMS, especially the delays involved in its decision-making mechanism. To carry out any major project in the field, they had to consult the various Committees in Europe connected with the PMS for approval. This involved a long period of waiting during which the various Committees in Europe considered the proposal. As one missionary wrote in 1908: "It is very difficult to start anything, when it is first necessary to consult people of different opinions and living as far away from each other as possible".<sup>2</sup> And again in 1913, the same missionary voiced a similar complaint against PMS bureaucracy: "... having heard the Conference decision about my transfer, a long correspondence started between my superiors on the one hand and the Executive Commission on the other... I was hoping that the house would be quickly built so that I could be more comfortable and also because of the imminent coming of my little family. But I was wrong. I must tell you that these moments of uncertainty, of delays, completely unnecessary in my opinion, have been some of the hardest times in my missionary life, pretty long already".<sup>3</sup>

Some Zambezi missionaries were of the opinion that members of the Executive Commission, being based so far away from the mission field, were out of touch with the reality of missionary work. They therefore resented the Commission's efforts to impose decisions concerning mission

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1. See Appendix 1.
  2. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Livingstone 1907/08  
PMS Records.
  3. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Livingstone 1912/13  
PMS Records.

strategy. Since 1925, the Executive Commission had been advocating the closure of the Livingstone station or its handing over to a rival society. In a secret letter to the ex-officio Executive Committee of the Zambezi Mission, the Executive Commission enquired: "Could we not hand over the Livingstone and Sesheke area and keep the Barotse area because it is not easy to communicate between the two?"<sup>1</sup> This move was strongly opposed by the missionaries who felt that the urban areas were of strategic importance to the growth of the mission. "What would be the outcome," asked the missionary in charge of the Livingstone station, "of a mission which for various reasons decided, in Africa, to be a rural mission? There can be no doubt of the reply; it would kill itself... it would be better to retreat straight away in good order without wasting precious human and financial resources. Because where are the most numerous and often the best missions on the African continent? Not in the bush. In evangelizing and enlightening (I do not say only in teaching) the mission in the bush makes malcontents in trying to make men. The most unsettled, and the half-educated, where are they? In the industrial centres to which they have migrated in the hope of satisfying the thirst born of numerous desires".<sup>2</sup>

Quite often, the Executive Commission was obliged to give in to missionary demands for fear of inviting more hostility or even resignations from the missionaries. These differences had the effect of distracting or slowing down the missionary effort.

(b) mutual relations between missionaries within particular denominations

The relations between RCC missionaries at mission stations were regulated by the same kind of hierarchy

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1. See File: Report of reports. Letter to the President and members of the Executive Committee of the Zambezi Mission, by Secretary of the Executive Commission of the PMS, Paris. 31st October, 1925.
  2. Report on the station of Livingstone 1952 (Author not mentioned) PMS Records.

that characterised their relations with the mother church. There were certainly may have been some personal animosities between individual missionaries, but the overriding principle of brotherly feeling and fellowship that existed at Catholic missions sank these into the background and prevented any set-backs to missionary work.

The division of the CC into several autonomous mission stations run by family units had the effect of reducing friction between the missionaries. As Rotberg points out with regard to both the CC and the related Plymouth Brethren:

Their members controlled sites individually and eschewed any centralised direction. Friction between individuals was therefore rectified dissipated by the establishment of new bases..."<sup>1</sup>

The missionaries in charge of the various mission stations maintained no headquarters in the field,<sup>2</sup> although they co-operated at various levels, and over various issues. 'Re-union' meetings at which matters relating to church policy and strategy were discussed were held periodically, every mission station family being represented. But these were strictly voluntary and attendance did not commit a family to pursuing the policies or strategies recommended. Additional families at the smaller mission stations might move to bigger stations where their services would be needed more. But the tendency was for each family to seek a 'field' of its own and assume more responsibilities, than to move to the already developed stations. Since Mission was typical of CC station autonomy between 1946 and 1965, when it was closed down by the Government. In 1957, for instance, the entire

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Rotberg, R.I. 1965: Christian missionaries and the creation of Northern Rhodesia. P. 160.

Shewmaker, S. 1970. Tonga Christianity. p. 50  
He states: "... Churches of Christ uphold the local autonomy of churches and maintain no headquarter".

missionary personnel there consisted of a man and his wife, their two sons, their sons' wives and their two unmarried daughters. The station was self-sufficient from the points of view of teaching, medical care, maintenance of mission grounds and structures, and general administration. Yet the station was proposing further additions of functions that would have increased its self-sufficiency and enhanced its autonomy but no doubt would also have necessitated the recruitment of more personnel. Nonetheless, the free hand permitted each missionary unit at a mission station was conducive to the smooth development of the missionary enterprise.

The relations between PMS missionaries in the field were less happy than those of RCC or CC missionaries. Two major factors were responsible for this: PMS missionaries, unlike the Irish Capuchins or the Americans of the CC, came from different nationalities and cultural backgrounds, so that every missionary tended to structure his relationships with his fellow missionaries in terms of these criteria. National and cultural consciousness in turn bred mutual suspicions, apart from posing serious questions regarding the ultimate aims of missionary work. The missionaries' opposition to the Executive Committee's preference for French missionaries was, in fact, an expression of fear of dominance of one national and cultural group by another. The diverse nationalities of the missionaries, moreover, underpinned a diversity, not only of social attitudes but also of theological training and field strategy. The missionaries frequently attacked each other over issues of strategy arising from their differences of approach and training.

In this brief Chapter, I have been concerned to describe the main features of the three major missionary groups at Shungu so as to present a comparative picture. My main emphasis has been to show the implications of these structural and organizational differences for the missionary enterprise.



## C H A P T E R 6

### MISSION POLICY, MISSION CHURCH AND THE NATIONAL CHURCH

The policies of the various European and American missionary societies appear to have been greatly influenced by the missiological thinking of Henry Venn, one time Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in London. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century when most newly-formed societies needed clear policies toward their mission churches in Africa, Venn's seemingly pragmatic ideas were readily adopted. He had called into existence abroad "self-governing, self-supporting and self-propagating Churches, and the euthanasia of a mission".<sup>1</sup>

Coillard, the founder of the Zambezi Mission, whom we may rely upon as having been instrumental in the formulation of his Mission's policy wrote:

The banyan tree is the true emblem of the church of God. Each one of its mighty branches bears roots; each root that touches the soil, and grows there, becomes a new trunk, which in its own time must spread its branches farther, and strike new roots<sup>2</sup>.

Again he wrote:

... which of us does not reiterate - sincerely reiterate - the utterance, that if ever Africa is to be evangelized, it must be by her own children. What is so far only a beautiful theory ought to become a practice.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Neill, S. 1964. A history of Christian missions  
pp. 259-260.

2. Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa  
p. xxi.

3. Ibid. p. xxii.



There is a clear indication in the above two extracts that Coillard was thinking of the development of a mission church, governed, supported and propagated by the Africans themselves.

It is difficult to pin down the Church of Christ to any particular policy over many areas of its activities, principally because of its individualistic approach to mission work. Nevertheless, in the literature of the church's missionaries may be found traces of Venn's ideas. Thus, one of the Church's prolific writers, Stan Shewmaker, spelling out the objectives of his Church, has stated:

The missionary goal cannot be to plant a few congregations at or near mission stations and hope that, with the passage of the years, the "younger churches" will be able to overcome the obstacles which have defeated us and transmute our failures into successful evangelization. Committed to the principle of transferring all power and control to national Christians, we must not take shelter behind that worthy goal and divest ourselves of our own responsibilities.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Vatican appears to have begun applying serious thought to this problem only early this century, missionary encyclicals have made the Catholic Church's position quite clear. Unlike the Protestant missions whose general policy is to create autonomous and indigenous churches in the mission field, the Catholic mission church remains an integral part of the church of Rome. As Daneel states, this stems from the Catholic "concept of Church unity, which emphasizes the external institutional unity and recognizes the local church only as an incomplete component, fully dependent on the hierarchically structured, universal Roman Church"<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless Catholic policy

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Tonga Christianity. p. 150.

2. Daneel, M.L. 1971. Old and new in Southern Shona independent churches. p. 202.

also advocates the full incorporation into the church of the mission peoples, the phasing out of the non-indigenous missionary and the development of an indigenous church leadership. The missionary encyclical, Maximum Illud, of 1919, by Benedict XV, laid down this foundation for the foreign missions. And later, "Cardinal Prefect van Rossum, in a circular in 1923, directed to the leaders of Missions, stressed that the Mission fields at one stage or another have to pass from the jurisdiction of the pioneers in faith into the hands of the indigenous priesthood, and that the indigenous church leadership should under no circumstances be treated merely as an assistant clergy."<sup>1</sup>

At Shungu, the three missionary groups did not readily follow the policies of their churches with regard to the creation and training of an indigenous clergy and leadership. This is the central issue I want to examine closely in this Chapter.

Mission policies appear to have overlooked a number of fundamental points, above all, the human factor. To begin with, the personal interests and motives of the missionaries, who were supposed to effect the development of mission churches as well as an indigenous leadership, were overlooked. Having accomplished the task of raising mission churches from nothing, most missionaries were unwilling to hand them over to the mission peoples. These churches represented their life's work and achievement, under trying conditions which their home sponsors could not properly appreciate. In other words, they became attached to the churches, which they saw as their own creations. Instead of continuing to fulfil their missionary functions of getting down to the people at the grassroots, the missionaries became church leaders. As Beidelman states:

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1. Ibid. p. 203.

When the successful missionary had accomplished his task, he was theoretically supposed to pass on to other fields of endeavour. In practice, the successful missionary desired to head the new church he had created, confusing the roles of missionary and church leader.<sup>1</sup>

The missionaries' resolve to hold on to their mission stations was sometimes strengthened by the poor performance of their African assistants, who were often ill-equipped and ill-trained to take on such responsibilities, when left in charge of the stations. For instance, the Kazungula station of the PMS had been left under the charge of an African evangelist when the missionary-in-charge went on furlough for several years. When the missionary returned in 1904, he found the station in a shambles. As he put it:

The Kazungula station, left to the care of the evangelist Samuel for several years, was more or less abandoned, above all, shortly before his departure. The services were neglected, the school closed and the station itself was a painful sight - what is more, a [white] trader had established himself there and was having a house built next to the evangelist's when we arrived back on October 27th. I first got rid of the trader who was living in the guest house which was needed. It was not easy, for Samuel had let him settle on the station, and had even sold him some of the grass meant for covering the Chapel.<sup>2</sup>

Missionary reports of the PMS and to some extent of the CC, are full of disparaging comments about the sense of responsibility and enthusiasm of the African evangelists.

The African evangelists and other church members saw the unwillingness of the missionaries to promote them

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1. Beidelman, T.O. 1974. 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions,' in Africa. Vol. XLIV, No.3. July, 1974. p. 248.

2. Champod, A. Report on the station of Kazungula, 1904-1905.

to positions of leadership as a deliberate attempt to keep the leadership of the church in white hands. This was particularly the case with the more educated and intelligent Africans who aspired to positions of leadership. Friction often erupted and some evangelists left the church out of frustration or were dismissed from the positions as trouble-makers. The case of the evangelist Willie Mokalapa, although slightly removed from Shungu, may be cited here, as it affected the image and influence of the PMS. Makalapa was one of the Suto evangelists borrowed by the Zambezi Mission from the PMS evangelists' training centre of Morija in Basutoland. He was stationed at Sefula in Barotseland, although he itinerated greatly. He became frustrated with his pay, which was £40 a year (for a married evangelist) while that of a missionary in a similar position was £600. Moreover, the continued white leadership of the mission church became a source of irritation to him. When he went back to Basutoland for a holiday, probably about 1899, he joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church (the 'Ethiopian Church') which was being well-received by Africans both in Basutoland and South Africa. He was appointed Arch-Elder for the Barotse Valley. From Basutoland, he wrote to the King, Lewanika about his new Church, promising him new teachers and a school where only English, which Lozi pupils clamoured for, would be taught. The King appears to have welcomed the news, which somehow leaked to the pupils at Lealui, the King's Capital town. **Disorder** broke out. As Coillard himself explained in a letter to the Editor of the Express on 8th January, 1904:

A bad spirit sprang among the bigger boys of our school. They despised our teaching - arithmetic, geography, reading and writing their own language; the singing, most of all the Bible lesson by which we open the daily school. What they wanted was English, nothing else, nothing more; and looked naturally forward to the coming of W. when they should be fed and clothed and learn English to their hearts' content. It made the management of



the school difficult and rendered discipline next to impossible.<sup>1</sup>

Makalapa, despite Coillard's repeated protests to Lewanika, was permitted to found his church in the Barotse Valley in 1900. But the pressure from both Coillard and the Colonial Administration weighed heavily upon the new church. The Administration was apparently more concerned about the hostility the church aroused in the Africans toward Europeans.<sup>2</sup> By 1906, Mokalapa's church had run its course.

Nevertheless, Mokalapa's influence cannot be underestimated, as it appears to have spread to other PMS mission stations. The missionary in charge of the Kazungula station reported experiencing some difficulties with his pupils over the absence of the teaching of English from the curriculum. More important still, up till the Mokalapa affair, the evangelists appear to have taken their orders from the missionaries obediently. After the revolt of Mokalapa, however, there was a definite change of attitude on their part toward the missionaries. Two of them broke away from the PMS to join him. Others became bold in the manner they voiced out their complaints to the missionaries. The Evangelists' file of the PMS contains interesting letters relating to personal grievances written by the evangelists between 1900 and 1908.<sup>3</sup> The evangelist at the Siakasipa annexe at Shungu openly defied going through the proper channels, i.e. through his missionary-in-charge, and wrote a letter to the head of the Zambezi Mission - Coillard - in which

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1. Coillard, F. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. See letter dated Mabumbu, 11th July, 1906. To Members of the Geneva Commission. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  3. See File: Mulozi and Basuto evangelists. PMS Records, Livingstone Museum. Mokalapa, perhaps because of his intelligence and dynamic nature, appears to have been popular among his fellow evangelists and it may be presumed that his secession move had their support and sympathy.



he voiced out his grievances about the way he was being over-worked and neglected by the mission.<sup>1</sup>

Many missionaries of the PMS have attributed Coillard's unexpected death in 1904 to the challenge presented by Mokalapa's African Methodist Episcopal Church.

Mokalapa's case has been used to illustrate the resentment that African evangelists and church leaders often felt against the dominance of the missionaries and the lack of promotion in the missionary-dominated churches. Mokalapa's sudden rise to the leadership of the AME in 1900 must, no doubt, have brought to his ex-colleagues' minds the realization that they were being kept down' by the white missionaries. As I have pointed out, the spate of grievances from the evangelists suggests an expression of missionary resentment on their part.

At Shungu, the initial success of the CC must be seen in the context of its initial leadership.<sup>2</sup> Peter Masiya, the African evangelist who introduced the church to Shungu about 1910,<sup>3</sup> presented a striking contrast to the PMS missionaries. As a self-supporting, dynamic African church leader, he presented a model of independence from white leadership. His independent leadership in the early days of white rule won the church an immediate following. Soon after his appearance on the Shungu religious scene, the Toka-Leya who had hitherto been followers of the PMS, deserted to join him. Said

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- . See File: Malozi and Basuto evangelists PMS Records, Livingstone Museum.
  - . The leadership of the Church of Christ was later (1923) assumed by an American missionary named W.N. Short who continued to rely both on Masiya and those Africans he had converted. To this extent, the attraction of the church was not adversely affected. Further, the material benefits that subsequent American missionaries were to make available to African converts impressed the greater population of the Toka-Leya.
  - . The date of Masiya's coming to Shungu is sometimes said to be 1912.

Kambole Mpatamatenga, who was baptized by Masiya in 1918: "He was a great teacher. "He gave us the religion we needed. He converted hundreds."

The appearance at Shungu of the independent African churches after 1920 further showed the extent to which African leadership of the churches was more desirable to the Africans than missionary domination. These independent churches were, to start with, confined to the town of Livingstone itself. The PMS was the most important mission church in Livingstone then, the CC having been confined to the rural areas. There were frequent mass desertions of the African membership of the PMS to these independent churches. The Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province, for instance, said this of the AME in his 1937 Annual Report:

Much of its doctrine must be incomprehensible to its disciples, but its popularity lies, probably in that it is an African Church founded by Africans<sup>1</sup>.

PMS missionaries in Livingstone from 1930 onwards reported losing their membership to the independent churches, particularly the N.A. which attracted a large number of Lozi. The leaders of these independent churches also capitalized on the colour problem to wrest membership from the established white-led churches, and appear to have enjoyed a measure of success in this respect.<sup>2</sup>

To return to the question of reluctance on the part of the missionaries to work towards the voluntary handing over of church leadership to the indigenous people at Shungu, it may be suggested that this was exacerbated by the mutual distrust engendered by the colonial situation. The missionaries were, without exception, firm believers

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1. Native Affairs Annual Report for the year 1937.  
Northern Rhodesia Government. p. 38.

2. See Roulet's 1930/31 Report for Livingstone. PMS  
Records. Livingstone Museum.

in the superiority of their own race and culture. In the colonial situation the criteria of race and culture determined relations between white and black. The Africans saw the missionaries' residence in white communities or on 'ivory tower' mission stations as indicative of their 'separateness' from them. The missionaries, in turn, often confirmed these suspicions by their attitudes toward the Africans. They adopted, consciously or unconsciously, the attitudes of the colonial administrators and settlers and kept the Africans, whom they were supposed to be in close contact with, at a distance. As Stan Shewmaker, reflecting on the initial 'mistakes' of the missionaries in the African field, has written:

What has been true in most of Africa is also the case in Tongaland. The coming of Missions has roughly corresponded with the expansion of colonialism and, as a result, oftentimes, missionaries have become identified with the colonial administration as agents of imperialism. Unfortunately, some missionaries did quite frequently adopt the general attitudes of the white administrators toward the governed, and from this viewpoint, it is not difficult to feel superior when you begin to convince yourself that the nationals are incapable of responsibility or self-government. Nor is it hard to doubt whether the national church will ever be capable of functioning without the father hand of the missionary to guide and administer its discipline.<sup>1</sup>

The presence of colonial administrators and white settlers was an important factor in shaping missionary attitudes. Challenged by the Editor of The Livingstone Mail to explain their position with regard to the African,<sup>2</sup> the missionaries appear to have been unanimous in their reply. Edwin Smith, the Methodist Minister who acted as President of the Missionary Conference of North-Western

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1. Shewmaker, S. 1970. op. cit. p. 120.

2. See The Livingstone Mail edition of 25th July, 1908, in which the Paper's editor, L.F. Moore, attacks the missionaries whom he accuses of "proselytizing the native" and being unsympathetic both to the plight of the settler and what he termed the "Imperial Idea".

Rhodesia in 1914, replied thus on behalf of the different societies represented:

There is, unfortunately, a certain amount of opposition covert or overt, to our work... We regret it. We would much rather live in harmony with our fellow pioneers. I wonder whether some, at least, of the disfavour is not our own fault. Are we candid and open in letting the settler know what we are doing ? ... It is a common idea - and I think this is one of the favourite objections to our social work - that we teach the native that he is as good as a white man. Some think that we spend our time in preaching equality. Now the word needs definition. There is the scientific point of view, from which we are all regarded equally as members of the Genus Homo. There is a more or less defined equality of black and white before the eyes of the law. There is social and political equality. I repudiate it. None of us believes that the native is the social, or should be the political, equal of ourselves. If any man says he believes in it, I ask, would he give his daughter or sister to a native? If not, to speak of social equality is nonsense. What as missionaries we do say is that white and black are equal before God, by which we mean that they should have equal opportunities of knowing His will. In all other senses we as missionaries absolutely repudiate the idea of equality. It has never, I am sure, been a feature of our preaching.<sup>1</sup>

It is reported that at the end of his speech, Smith received an ovation from those present.

I have used an extract from Smith's Conference speech to show the position of the missionaries in their original attitudes toward Africans generally and also to show the role played by the colonial milieu in shaping these social attitudes. Material relating to African reactions to missionary actions is hard to come by, perhaps because the missionaries wanted to preserve only that which placed their work in good light. Nevertheless, the Africans did resent being treated as inferiors by the

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1. Quoted from The Livingstone Mail edition of 3rd July, 1914.



missionaries. In their view, the church fellowship that the missionary talked about needed not only to be thought about in terms of an other-worldly equality, but also to be acted out in this world. This was clearly illustrated by the reactions of the veteran evangelist Kambole Mpatamatenga when confronted with a situation in which he had for the first time in 50 years since his baptism, sat at table with a white missionary. As the missionary himself recounts, Mpatamatenga remarked:

I have been a Christian for many years and I am an old man. Today... is the first time that a white man has eaten insima [hard porridge] in my house. Although I have prayed that this would happen for a long time, I thought that I would not see it before I die. Truly, this is a wonderful day, to see white and black eating together in fellowship.<sup>1</sup>

This happened only after Zambia's independence. But it is interesting to note that Mpatamatenga had since 1923 served as interpreter to various American missionaries at Shunguand yet no missionary had associated with him in private life.

In contrast to the Northern Rhodesian situation, missionary groups that have worked under social environments less affected by racial divisions have seemed more eager in devoluting power to the mission people. West and East African missions, generally, are a case in point.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970 op.cit. p. 120.

2. For a more detailed discussion of East and West African missions and the development of indigenous leadership, see: Rowland Oliver. 1970. The missionary factor in East Africa; Marcia Wright. 1971. German missions in Tanganyika 1894 -1941 (especially Chapters VI and X); F.K. Ekechi: 1971. Missionary enterprise and rivalry in igholand, 1857 - 1914; and J.F. Ajayi: 1965 Christian missions in Nigeria



In the field of church ritual and liturgy, too, there was evident reluctance on the part of the missionaries to introduce African elements, so as to make the mission churches more attractive to the Africans. From the missionaries' point of view, they had come to Shungu to civilize the Africans and this meant the purging of local customs and beliefs. How, then, could they be expected to incorporate into the church, the African elements they had set out to destroy? Recalled an elderly Catholic missionary: "In those days, we saw everything in African culture as heathen and made no allowance for even the noblest of African customs. Only European customs were acceptable in the church. But today we can see where we went wrong and are doing all we can to introduce African elements in church ritual and liturgy". The rival Protestant missionaries, however, were even far more opposed to the introduction of anything into the church that smacked of African custom and tradition. This stems from the rather opposed theological positions of the Catholic and Protestant churches. In general, Catholic doctrine takes a broad and liberal view of indigenous beliefs and customs. As the theologian, Father R. Laroche points out:

There is room for the discovery in [African] traditional beliefs and practices of many points of contact with Christian doctrine which can lead up to the teaching and practice of the Christian religion.<sup>1</sup>

Catholic policy, then, encourages the assimilation of indigenous beliefs and practices, when and where appropriate. In his Summi Pontificatus, Pope Pius XII makes this point quite clear:

Anything whatever that has found acceptance in a people's way of life, provided only that

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1. Laroche, Father F., 1968. 'Some traditional African religions and Christianity,' in C.G. Baeta (Ed.). Christianity in tropical Africa. p. 297.

it be not inextricably bound up with superstition and error, is at all times weighed sympathetically and, if possible, retained intact and unmarred.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, at Shungu, the Catholic Church has, in recent years shown a willingness to follow church policy in the sphere of assimilation of African elements. The Survey Report of 1974 of the Livingstone Diocese, for instance, reports that

The Liturgy at present in use in the Diocese is rather Western. A Commission was formed by the Bishop to promote Zambianization of the Liturgy and Church Music... The Commission is seeking to discover an expression of Christianity related to the local culture and expressed in Church Music and Liturgy. To date, the Commission has succeeded in collecting traditional songs which have provided good material for very meaningful hymns, e.g. "Sinawenga" wedding songs; "Limba" used on royal occasions; "Matangu" story song.<sup>2</sup>

Protestant doctrine tends to exclude from church life all indigenous practices as these are, according to the Reformers, pervaded with sin. To enter the church the convert must renounce all heathen customs and be "born again" in Christ. It is not surprising, therefore, that PMS and CC missionaries took a strong stand against introducing into their churches African forms of expression. The Calvinist stance of the PMS and the fundamentalist approach of the CC ruled out such considerations.

As I have indicated above, the refusal by both the Catholics (in the initial stages) and the Protestant missionaries to incorporate African traditional elements can only have helped to alienate some Africans from the

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1. Daneel, M.L. 1971 op. cit. pp. 246 - 247.

2. Survey Report. p. 38.

mission churches. As we shall see at a later stage, Spirit-type movements such as the N.A. and Nzila have much of their appeal in their accommodation as well as use of African modes of religious expression.

To what extent can the mission churches be said to have developed into 'autonomous' churches? This is not an easy question to answer, as every church interprets the concept of 'autonomy' differently. Nevertheless, following Taylor and Lehmann, this process may be understood by "observing two outward phenomena - the growth of the African ministry and the development of constitutional structures of church government"<sup>1</sup>

The Church of Christ prides itself by claiming a wider autonomy than most mission churches among the Tonga. Thus it is readily pointed out by the missionaries that the church in Zambia was introduced by an African; that it has been mostly propagated by Africans and that autonomous African congregations exist today. Thus of the 37 local congregations and three mission stations in 1968, there were 47 African ministers and 9 missionaries, respectively.<sup>2</sup> The CC missionaries see their present role as that of building up new congregations and strengthening the old ones. Yet a basic suspicion remains between the missionaries and some of the local congregations. Some missionaries, probably doubtful of the capability of the local leaders (especially in urban congregations where the missionary no longer plays a leading role) are highly critical. "Membership estimates of urban churches", observed one, "are close enough to show that the outlook is anything but bright... The Church desperately needs to

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1. Taylor, J.V. and D. Lehmann. 1961. Christians of the Copperbelt. p. 50.

2. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. op. cit. Appendix B.

re-evaluate its approach to urban evangelism in light of sociological and spiritual requisites of city dwellers, and then must be willing to devise and implement bold and new plans for reaching those thousands who migrate to the cities each year,"<sup>1</sup> However, it may be noted that other reports indicated that African urban congregations were flourishing and that some had increased their membership up to 100%. The African leaders of urban churches, on the other hand, resent missionary intrusion in the organization of their churches because they suspect that missionaries are trying to re-assert their control over them.<sup>2</sup> A leading church Elder of the Livingstone Church of Christ congregation expressed the view that missionaries were "just local preachers who strengthen weak branches, especially in the villages where leadership is weak."<sup>3</sup> He did not, however, think that they had any role to play any longer in the urban churches where African leadership was strong and organized.<sup>4</sup>

Clearly, the sentiments expressed by the African church leader above underline the significant role still played by the missionaries in the running of the Church of Christ at Shungu.

The credibility of CC missionaries in the eyes of the Africans has been dented by the departure of so many of them at the time of Zambia's independence. It was clear that those who left did not wish to serve in a black-controlled country or be compelled by political circumstances to serve on equal terms with the local preachers. In 1957, as the Africans in Northern Rhodesia began to assert their political rights, a lady missionary of the CC commented: "We are fast drawing near the deadline

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Church growth in Batonga: Surveying the Church of Christ in Southern Zambia. Vol. 1. p. 22.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Mukupa, P. 1976. Short history of the Church of Christ. Typescript sent to me.
  4. Ibid.



of the future of our work in Northern Rhodesia."<sup>1</sup> And again: "Many hundreds have left Rhodesia because of the uncertainty of the future. Even some of our much needed missionaries have left or are going soon".<sup>2</sup> Those who left included the first American missionary in Northern Rhodesia. He left in 1960 - 4 years before Zambia's independence - to carry out missionary work in Southern Rhodesia. An African leader of the Church commented on these sudden departures: "Our true friends stayed on. Those who had all along pretended to like us left."

It is difficult to determine what importance the CC attached to the education of its preachers. It would appear, however, that like many other Mission churches in Zambia, the CC applied double standards in pastoral training. Most of the missionaries had a college and theological training, while the African preachers were sometimes barely literate. Thus, in the church hierarchy, only a handful of Africans have reached the position of Church Elder and none is a Deacon yet. The general application of the term 'minister' to the African leaders of congregations conceals the vast differences in theological and academic training between the missionaries and the 'national minister'. In the past, the CC did not appear to encourage their pupils to attain higher academic training, their main fear being that the pupils lost faith in 'Biblical truths' when they came into contact with theories of evolution.<sup>3</sup> Another factor was that the missionaries tended to recruit men who were not very intelligent, as they thought these made the most loyal and less troublesome preachers. One missionary has stated it thus:

This is what we have experienced: It is not nearly so likely that the smart man will

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1. Korfler, D. 1970. Mother of eighty p. 311

2. Ibid. pp 315 - 316.

3. Reese, A.B. 'Some school notes'; in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 3. No. 2. pp 5 - 6. August, 1947.



make the faithful, hard-working preacher as one who is a little dull, not knowing any better than to preach without thought of pay.<sup>1</sup>

While this cannot be applied to some of the early converts, it certainly explains why, today, village congregations cannot function properly without missionary leadership. The leaders find themselves unable to cope with the organizational aspects of the churches, as well as unable to grapple with the more intellectual problems relating to Biblical teaching. Urban churches, in contrast are enjoying success perhaps because of their educated leadership.<sup>2</sup>

The Zambezi Mission was from its very inception, a missionary-dominated organization. Prior to the secession of the evangelist Mokalapa, evangelists had been assigned sub-stations - or annexes - to run. But after 1910 this practice appears to have ceased. At Shungu, the missionary-in-charge dominated the Church Council to the extent that his evangelists, elders and pastors had little to say in the formulation of policies relating to the welfare of the Church. Mission records indicate, however, that church Elders sometimes handled minor matters relating to church discipline.

Until about 1920, the Zambezi Mission leaned heavily on imported Suto evangelists. But the Lukona Bible school, started about 1894, slowly produced Lozi and Toka-Leya evangelists who eventually replaced the men from Basutoland. But like the CC, the PMS became more interested in quantity rather than quality. The Lukona products were often men with a lower primary education. The bright pupils from the

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1. Merritt, J.D. 'who will go for me?', in Glimpses of Africa, Vol 2 No.10. p. 2 April, 1947.

2. With regard to the three Elders of the Church of Christ in Livingstone in 1974-75, one was a lecturer at a Teacher's Training College, another was the Principal of a Technical College and the third held a Clerical position in a firm.

from the formal schools run by the mission were invariably diverted to teaching. There was, perhaps, the same fear as that entertained by the CC, that the more intelligent men were also likely to be the more troublesome. Inevitably, when the missionaries had to hand over church leadership to the local people, it was to these poorly educated men that they did so, with the consequent fall in standards of organization and theological understanding.

Since 1965, the Zambezi Mission, then known as the Church of Barotseland, has merged with the other established missionary societies to form the United Church of Zambia (UCZA). This new organization is led and controlled by indigenous Zambians, although a few missionaries have stayed on as 'advisers'. Some of these are engaged in making standardized translations of the Bible.

The circumstances leading to the transfer of church power to the local church members of the PMS may be briefly discussed here. As were many other institutions in the then Northern Rhodesia, the Zambezi Mission was compelled by the political circumstances of the 1950's to re-examine its organizational and leadership policy. One of the most potent pressure groups was the African Church Council of Northern Rhodesia, a sister organization to the missionary-dominated Church Council of Northern Rhodesia. PMS evangelists were represented on the African Council. Thus, in the 1950's as African political elements orchestrated the campaign for independence for Africans, so did African church members become more outspoken in their criticism of European domination and lack of progress for Africans in the churches. In his opening address to the African Christian Conference held on 9th November, 1954, the Chairman, Mr. J.H. Mwela, pointed out:

I need hardly mention that we live in a world of changes; the world of 1939 was different from the world of today. Since then 15 years have passed, marked by important political and

social changes and the general intellectual and educational standard has improved considerably. Therefore the time is now ripe for a general stock-taking - a general re-examination of the African Christian Conference in relation to those changes.<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman went on to explain the basic issue:

The most fundamental question for which this emergency meeting has been called and which forms the main theme of this Conference is whether the African Christian Conference still serves a useful purpose for which it was formed. Is there much need for two Councils in Northern Rhodesia?<sup>2</sup>

Unable to justify their exclusiveness, the missionaries proposed to merge the two organizations. Further, they proposed to merge together the Church of Barotseland, the Church of Central Africa in Rhodesia, the Free Churches in the Copperbelt, and the Methodist Church. Accordingly, in 1956, a draft constitution was drawn up.<sup>3</sup> Henceforth African Church members were allowed to occupy positions hitherto closed to them. To speed up the training of Africans to the ministry, a college, which hitherto had been training Africans for lower positions in the church, was opened in the Northern Province. It was later transferred to Kitwe where its standards were raised, and has since been known as the Mindolo Ecumenical Centre.

Only recently has the RCC (Livingstone Diocese) made an effort to bring indigenous Zambians into church leadership. This change of heart may have come about partly as a result of pressure exerted by the State on all churches pursuing conservative policies. The church may have also

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1. Extract from Chairman's speech at the African Christian Council meeting held at Lusaka on 8th and 9th November, 1954.
  2. Ibid.
  3. See United Church of Northern Rhodesia Interim Constitution of 1956. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

taken heed of what could happen to its physical existence, following President Mobutu Sese Seko's expulsion of some Catholic clerics in recent years from Zaire for ignoring the aspirations of the nation. This concern was expressed in the church's Survey Reports of 1974 and 1976. The 1974 Report, for instance stated that "No one knows how long missionaries may be allowed to work in Zambia"<sup>1</sup>. In the secular professions relating to the church, there too, the Catholics have come to realise the political and social implications of delaying Zambianization too long at this period of time. Thus the same Report stated:

There are 5 mission secondary schools, one teacher training college and 9 hospitals in the diocese headed by Expatriate Principals and Matrons. Many similar institutions in the diocese which were established by the Government are now headed by Zambians.<sup>2</sup>

To allay further anxiety in political and church circles, the church transferred to Livingstone in 1974 an African priest, who was appointed Bishop of the Diocese the following year. The church reported this as a step in the right direction:

The diocese is fully aware of its responsibility to Zambianize all its institutions and development projects. In 1975, Bishop Adrian Mungandu<sup>3</sup> became the first Zambian Bishop of Livingstone and other posts have also been taken over by Zambians. In all development projects it is always insisted that one of the objectives be to train a Zambian to eventually assume leadership.<sup>4</sup>

The pressures on the Catholic Church of the Livingstone Diocese to Zambianize do not only stem from internal

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1. 1974 Survey Report. p. 25

2. Ibid. pp. 24 - 25.

3. Bishop Adrian Mungandu is a Soli from the Lusaka area. As yet no Toka-Leya priest has been produced by the church.

4. 1976 Survey Report p. 4.



groups but also from overseas Catholic development aid organizations which see the danger of Catholic missions losing credibility in independent African states by insisting on foreign leadership. Accordingly, these organizations have warned that little or no aid for development projects will go to the missions unless there is visible proof that the leadership of the church is being handed to the locals through training schemes. Thus, the official Church Report stated in 1976:

It is recommended that the diocese should have a more or less definite plan of phasing out Expatriates and phasing in Zambians. Some overseas aid organizations consider this as one of their priorities and are ready to assist scholarship programmes to accelerate the process of Zambianization.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that a high academic standard and a long period of training are necessary for the priesthood. Nevertheless, it would also appear that the Catholic Church of the Livingstone Diocese remained for a long time insensible to the problem of training a local clergy - despite the clear position of the Church of Rome on the issue.<sup>2</sup> The fact that an African priest had to be found from a different diocese indicates a lack of prior preparation for the eventual devolution of power to the local clergy.<sup>3</sup> In this respect, the development of the Catholic Church at Shungu has paralleled its development on the Copperbelt to the north. As Taylor and Lehmann observed in 1959:

As elsewhere in Africa, the Roman Catholic Church has demanded that its African priests

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1. Ibid. pp. 4 -5.
  2. The Catholic Mission first established itself at Shungu in 1931 and has since run schools. The first attempt was made in 1962 to train a Toka-Leya. But this failed.
  3. Bishop Mungandu is the only African priest in the Diocese, although four are said to be training at a Seminary in the Western Province. Some church critics see his position, held in isolation, as an instance of 'window-dressing'.



should undergo the same standard of training as those of any other race and has been prepared to take its time in achieving this. Even by these standards, however, an abnormally long period passed during which this Church appeared to be more mission-dominated<sup>1</sup> than any; then, suddenly, highly-qualified African priests appeared on the scene with a steadily growing influence in the Church.<sup>2</sup>

To day, Africans in the various parishes of the Catholic Church at Shungu enjoy a certain amount of participation in church affairs. Through the Parish Councils and Committees, chaired by parish priests, they are involved in development projects initiated by the Church. These Councils and Committees also deal with issues relating to the spiritual and moral life of the Christian communities. At the highest level of public involvement, the Diocese is divided into two regional Committees - the Southern and Northern Sector Development Committees - comprising a mixture of priests and educated lay members. These Committees deal with wider issues relating to national development projects as well as to the moral and spiritual problems in the diocese.

In this chapter, I have been concerned with the historical development of the missions at Shungu by examining their evolution from being mission churches to being national churches. I have shown that this process of development was attended by a number of sociological problems. These related, basically, to the consequent relations between the missionaries and the mission peoples, i.e. the attitudes and motives of the missionaries and the expectations of the mission peoples. The policies of the Zambezi Mission, the Church of Christ Mission and the Catholic Mission all advocated, in varying degrees, the development of mission churches, the training of local

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1. 'Mission-dominated', as opposed to 'national-dominated'.
  2. Taylor, J.V. and D. Lehmann. 1961. op. cit. p. 51.

people to church leadership and the phasing out of the missionaries (once they had accomplished these two tasks). The missionaries, far from wanting to hand over the leadership of the churches (which, according to mission policy was incompatible with their role as 'church builders'), sought to perpetuate their control over their particular churches - to the detriment of missionary work as a whole. Their efforts to perpetuate their control of the churches generated conflict with the local church members, whose expectations for church leadership were frustrated thereby.

The realization of the national church was further delayed by the missionaries' adoption of attitudes toward their church members characteristic of the attitudes of the colonial administrators and settlers toward the Africans as a whole. The adoption of such attitudes re-inforced the missionary resolve to cling on to the leadership of the mission churches, while at the same time undermining the confidence of the African church members in their own ability to lead.

National churches were finally 'achieved' through pressures exerted upon the missionaries by internal and external factors. Internally, the frustrated elements in African church congregations were a potent factor, supported by the general political agitation for African self-determination in the country. Externally, there were the sponsoring bodies of the missions which felt the need for indigenous leadership if the churches were to continue to exist in an independent African country.

### P A R T    I I I

#### THE MISSIONIZATION OF THE TOKA-LEYA

##### Introduction

There appears to be no general agreement within the ranks of missiologists as to what constitutes missionary work. Some have argued that missionary work essentially concerns the purely religious and spiritual aspects of the mission peoples. Thus Beidelman has argued that the use of "secular aspects of European culture" (as, for instance, educational and medical services) by missionaries to interest mission peoples in religious and spiritual matters is "contradictory and unrealistic".<sup>1</sup> Some missiologists have seen missionary work as a comprehensive initiation of mission peoples into Western culture, even if the ultimate goal is the attainment of religious and spiritual perfection in the Christian sense. Ajayi, for instance, has shown how, in Nigeria between 1841 and 1891, the missionaries attempted, with some success, to bolster Christianity with literacy, technical education and economic incentive among the local people.<sup>2</sup> The comprehensive missionary approach was also the view advocated by the sponsoring societies in Europe and America.

In the following two Chapters, I will attempt to discuss the implications upon both missionary groups and the Toka-Leya, of the process of missionizing at Shungu.

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1. Beidelman, T.O. 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa', in Africa, Vol. XLIV. No. 3. July, 1974. p. 245.
  2. See generally. Ajayi, J.F. 1965. Christian missions in Nigeria.

## C H A P T E R 7

### THE MISSION STATION AND THE MISSION FIELD

#### (a) The mission station

Ideally, the mission station was created as a nucleus for the propagation of Christian ideals to the mission peoples through a core of selected followers who were, to start with, cut off from the influences of their own society. Through his own deeds, and through the mission station organization, the missionary attempted to present to the mission community a practical demonstration of the Christian way of life. This model of life and organization would later be emulated, in the mission field. But in actual practice these ideals remained unattainable, for as Beidelman points out, "The actual practice of missionizing is itself grounded in profound and insoluble contradictions".<sup>1</sup> The missionary confounded secular spheres of life with the sacred. Thus, his reliance upon the secular authority of the Colonial Government, and his own behaviour in relation to his mission station community posed contradictions to his professed ideals. Secondly, through the mission station organization, the missionary presented to his community a model of life which strongly reflected Western culture and which had little relation to the actual religious and spiritual ideals he preached. It is these implications of the mission station structure that the first part of this Chapter will be devoted to.

The choice of the site of the first mission station established by the PMS at Shungu in 1898 was symbolic in many ways. The mission station was situated outside the

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1. Beidelman, T.O. op. cit. p. 244.



British South Africa Company Reserve (See Map 3) but was built only a few hundred yards away from the newly founded white settlement at the Old Drift. It also separated Chief Sekute's village from the white settlement. The situation of the mission outside Company territory clearly indicated the missionaries' wish to avoid being closely indentified with the British South Africa Company's administrative and political aspects - the secular forces - by Africans. The white community at Shungu upheld the principles of Western civilization and it is not surprising that the mission station was placed close to it. As a matter of fact, the missionary-in-charge constantly availed himself of the 'civilized' facilities offered by the white settlement. Again, the positioning of the mission station between the white settlement and the African village symbolised the intermediary role of the missionary. Thus, soon after the mission station was established, a fight broke out between chiefs Sekute and Mooka, on the one hand, and a drunken white trader, Veal, on the other. The dispute was settled by a Company official, Major Harding, working in conjunction with the Rev. Auguste Coisson, the missionary-in-charge.<sup>1</sup> This clearly illustrates the mediatory role of the missionary, the extent to which he could involve himself in secular matters relating to the mission people and also the extent to which he could identify himself with colonial authority.

The establishment of both the Mosi-Oa-Thunya and the Sinde missions, at the particular sites they were, was not without its social implications. Although the PMS missionary was keen to establish himself outside Company territory, he was dependent on Company authority to obtain the mission site from the local chief, whose territory it was. Thus, prior to the establishment of the mission station, Sekute appears to have been well

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1. 'Notes from letters written by the Rev. and Mrs. Coisson 1898 - 1906'. Livingstone Museum Records. (G.135, Reg. Acc. 7931).



disposed toward the missionaries who visited the Falls area from time to time, having been based at the Kazungula station. And after one of such visits, the missionary Coisson wrote:

Chiefs [Sekute and Mooka] are very polite and if they cannot come to greet me they send a small boy. One evening, they sent me some milk. If they kill a sheep or have any game meat, they keep a piece for me. I have no complaints against them, they do all they can to make sure the people attend my services.<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the British South Africa Company gave the PMS some land belonging to Sekute, on which to build the mission station, the relations between the missionary-in-charge and the chief became strained. Commented Mrs. Coisson in 1899:

But the heart of these people is hard and we shall have to work for a long time [to convert them]; the chief is far from being a jewel, and he can be extremely disagreeable...<sup>2</sup>

In October 1900, Sekute, who had all along supplied milk for the missionary's children, suddenly stopped doing so.<sup>3</sup> It was about this time that he left the Old Drift.

An important factor in the situation of the mission station was that it included a shrine to which Sekute and his people had gone to perform rain-making ceremonies. Thus, after the establishment of the mission station, he was obliged to ask for permission from the missionary-in-charge to visit the shrine. It is no accident that the

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1. Coisson, A. 'Latest Reports'. In News of the Zambezi. 1899 (Page number and date of letter accidentally omitted in the translated text.)
  2. Mme Coisson to M. Edvard Favre. Mosi-Oa-Thunya, 10th December, 1899. In News of the Zambezi May, 1900 p.91.
  3. 'Notes from letters written by Rev. and Mrs. Coisson. 1898 - 1906'. Livingstone Museum Records. (G.1235 Reg. Acc. 7931).

PMS was never given a firm footing in Sekute's chiefdom to establish schools. The area was, instead, opened to the Catholics in 1937. Informants have indicated that the royal family of Sekute never forgave the Colonial Government and the PMS for the loss of the sacred area as well as the river front.

The choice of the Sinde Mission station of the Church of Christ echoes that of the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station. The first evangelist of the Church of Christ, Peter Masiya, had built a church and school at Mujala's village about 1977. The American missionary who came to take over the running of the Church in Northern Rhodesia in 1923 decided to build a mission station at the site of the Church. In 1930, following the alienation of African land along the railway line to white farmers, the Church formally acquired 1,000 acres (see Map 5) of land around the mission station. The 1,000 acres included land both along the railway belt and in the Batoka Reserve. The extension of the farm into the latter meant that it came to include land which was already settled by Africans. Mujala's village, therefore found itself part of the mission farm and this had the effect of creating animosity between the African residents of the village and the missionaries. The Africans felt cheated out of their land rights, on which were also their ancestral shrines. Although they eventually moved out of the mission farm to settle only a mile away, they secretly maintained their ancestral shrines to which they stole in darkness to perform the customary rites.<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that the missionaries reported making little religious and spiritual headway among the people of Mujala's village, despite their close proximity to the mission station.<sup>2</sup>

These two examples show clearly that in the early days,

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1. Korfker, D. 1970. Mother of eighty. p. 122: "The corner of our cornfield is still a "praying grave" for the people, though they now do it secretly so as not to offend us," wrote the Matron of Sinde Orphanage.
  2. loc. cit.

the missionaries depended upon the authority of the Colonial Government to establish their mission stations among Africans. This had the effect of alienating the very people the missionaries had come to serve. The missionaries, through such land deals with the colonial authorities - who had themselves been involved in appropriating large tracts of land from the Africans - placed themselves in a situation whereby they were identified with them and resented for this reason.

From an organizational point of view, the mission station resembled any other bureaucratic organization in the colonial setting. The missionary was the head, and saw to the administration of the station - correspondence, purchases, supervision of tasks - and also enforced Christian ideals of behaviour on the mission community, including worship. He was assisted by his wife (if Protestant) and by evangelists, teachers, catechists, pupil boarders, helpers and labourers, in descending order. As his administrative tasks increased, he became more and more detached from his ecclesiastic duties to keep the records and accounts. This development posed far-reaching implications for the image he presented to his converts. As a missionary, he was expected to be in touch with his converts at the grassroots. His detachment from the field tended to undermine his own morale and religious ideals. An elderly RCC missionary complained: "When I first came to this diocese in 1942, I travelled much in the villages and found the work very stimulating. Now I am confined to this office nearly five days a week writing up reports and doing all sorts of administrative tasks. It's no longer so interesting or rewarding spiritually, as it used to be in the old days."

The Africans over whom he had spiritual jurisdiction increasingly became aware of the missionary's power and authority on the mission station, and this affected their

religious conception. Their moral deeds were no longer answerable to God, but to the missionary himself. "You will no doubt remember", wrote an African headmaster of a Church of Christ school to his adulterous brother, "sometime ago when I told you that your father and friend in Jesus, Mr. Short,<sup>1</sup> praised you for the work you have done since you became a friend of Jesus. Should you happen to meet either that gentleman or Mr. Scott<sup>2</sup> and his wife today, would you not feel ashamed of what you have done?"<sup>3</sup>

The routinization of the missionary role is illustrated by the development of the Livingstone mission station of the PMS. In the early days of the station's establishment, the missionary-in-charge had itinerated widely at Shungu. But in time, the station became a strategic supply centre for all the PMS stations in Barotseland. It also became a transit centre for visiting or travelling missionaries and other people connected with the mission. This had the effect of increasing the volume of administrative work for the missionary-in-charge while at the same time hampering his religious and spiritual ministrations. This also had a profound implication upon the missionary's own conception of his role in the field. As the missionary-in-charge clearly indicated himself:

It is... painful to see everything which we could have done and which is impossible to carry out because of lack of time and strength. Because of the many visitors, colleagues and other persons from various stations who are always asking for hospitality, we waste precious time. Then the purchases, dispatch of orders, accounting, relations with the Government, all take up a good part of our time and stop us from giving ourselves more completely to evangelization.<sup>4</sup>

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1. W.N. Short was the American founder of Sinde Mission.
  2. George Scott was one of the early American missionaries at Sinde Mission.
  3. J. Kabalata to M.Kamato. 'An African admonishes his brother', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.2.No. 10. April 1947.p.7.
  4. Roulet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone 1927/28 PMS. Records. Livingstone Museum.



The development of the Livingstone station brought to the fore within the missionary ranks of the PMS the problem of bureaucratization and secularization, which constituted a danger to missionary enterprise. Another missionary said this of the role of the Livingstone station missionary:

I will no longer feel sorry for our colleague at the Falls, the character of whose ministry is somewhat special. It is certainly very different from what one meets on other stations. If being a missionary means preparing and organizing a church, his work can hardly be called missionary work, but whatever the name one gives to it, it is beautiful, interesting and extremely useful. I have never been one of those who think that this station should be handed over to another Society ... Far from abandoning it, we ought to develop it, and make it even fitter to supply all those services which the natives have a right to expect.<sup>1</sup>

The missionary went on to draw the attention of his fellow missionaries to the problem facing the Livingstone station:

We really must realise... that our colleague of the southernmost station is a missionary like us, that his work is that of evangelist and mission head, and not of perusing dictionaries and catalogues, doing our unpleasant tasks for us.<sup>2</sup>

As has already been shown in Chapter 5, when the missionaries were pressed by the settlers to define their position with respect to the burning issue of equality between white and black, they had declared, in 1914, their commitment to 'equality before God' but repudiated social and political equality. This posed a serious problem with regard to Biblical teaching which does not advocate social segregation on any account. We thus find that missionaries held contradictory views about what they regarded as Biblical truths, in terms of their own behaviour. In the church building, they preached about the brotherhood and

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1. Bouchet, J. Livingstone Annual Report 1929/30.

2. Ibid.



equality of man, and demonstrated this by praying together with their African brethren and by taking Holy Communion together. The missionary sat in Council with his church elders to discuss church matters and discipline. He visited the sick. But there the contact ended. In private life, he presented a different image to his mission hands, which they could not but observe. He was the white master who entertained white people at his house.<sup>1</sup> (Thus, despite the strong religious views held by most Afrikaner farmers who saw Africans only as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water', and the general animosity that Africans expressed against Afrikaners in general, Church of Christ missionaries found nothing unusual in hosting or being hosted by, the numerous Afrikaner farmers near their mission stations.) The missionary lived apart, physically and socially.<sup>2</sup> He had African servants who cooked and tended the lawn.<sup>3</sup> He was paid an allowance good enough to enable him to eat good European food and send his children to schools in Rhodesia, South Africa Europe or America.<sup>4</sup> If he were

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1. PMS missionaries did make attempts to associate with a selected section of their mission community, as will be seen later.
  2. Only in recent years have CC missionaries made attempts to live in Toka-Leya villages. But such experiments have been abandoned after short periods of trial.
  3. The employment of African servants by missionaries brought to the fore even more clearly the master-servant relationships that existed between missionaries and Africans generally.
  4. This, of course applies to the Protestant missionaries only, as Catholic priests are celibate. It may be noted that the missionaries preferred to separate their children from African children in the educational sphere. Thus, despite the existence of a boys and girls' school for their children as well as those of European families around Shungu and Kalomo, they did not permit African children to enter this school. At Sinde Mission, the missionaries' children were offered correspondence courses, since there was no European school near-by, instead of being placed in the school there, which the missionaries ran for Africans. Wrote the Matron of the Sinde Orphanage: "There are no Europeans near Sinde. The missionaries' children are taught by correspondence or sent to boarding school which is very expensive." Korfler, D. 1970. op. cit. p. 242.

a CC missionary, he might even have enough cash to invest in an 'automobile'.<sup>1</sup> From his vantage point - the 'mission house' - he was not easily approachable. His African brother had to avoid disturbing the muluti<sup>2</sup> or misisi,<sup>3</sup> and when he finally got there, he stood at the back of the house, waiting to be seen and spoken to - outside.

The African mission hand generally enjoyed none of these amenities. He was separated from the missionary socially as well as physically. He lived some distance away in the 'native compound' of the mission station, hidden from the view of the missionary at the 'mission house'. His accommodation consisted of a simple, grass-thatched, mud-plastered hut, barely furnished. It was crowded with his several children and relatives. His attire was equally simple and he sometimes went bare-foot. His income was very low, in comparison with that of the missionary.<sup>4</sup>

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1. As a matter of fact, even PMS missionaries, saddled as they were with financial problems, were in possession of cars at Shungu. In the RCC, missionaries are each provided with a car.
  2. Muluti: teacher
  3. Misisi: lit. Mrs, but used in the colonial days to mean a European woman.
  4. In the Zambezi Mission (PMS) married missionaries received an amount of £600 on recruitment, a salary of £150 per annum, as well as a special allowance of £30 per annum. A single missionary received £350 on recruitment, £125 as his annual salary and £30 as his private allowance. A married African evangelist, however, was paid a flat rate of £40 per annum, while an unmarried evangelist was paid £25 per annum. As we noted in Chapter 5, this apparent inequality in the salary structure was highly resented by the evangelists of the PMS. CC preachers were paid anything between 7s.6d per month to 25 shillings (see J.D. Marritt. 'who will go for me?' in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.2. No. 10. April, 1947. p.7). The allowances of CC missionaries varied, depending on the sponsorship. But considering the fact that 5 missionary families in 1945 were able to contribute as much as \$5,062.92 (See J.C. Shewmaker. 'Financial report for 1945 and proposed budget for 1946', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.1. No.8. February, 1946.p. 5) toward missionary work, their allowances must have been very high by any standards.

He and his family thrive on nsima<sup>1</sup> and kapenta.<sup>2</sup>

The social constraints that generally characterized the mission station in the old days at Shungu, and the lowly position of the African evangelists, are clearly brought out in the following extract, taken from an article by a lady missionary of the CC, published in 1947. The article is appropriately entitled Reminiscences of Africa:

Tonight as I think back on the years spent in Africa I think of a figure that sometimes appeared at my back door about dusk when I was busy preparing supper. He was barefoot but wore a faded shirt, a pair of long, cotton trousers, and stood there stiff and still, grasping an old hat in both his hands, waiting till some of us should see him, for propriety forbids that an African knocks at your door. This was Peter Mukuni, one of the most faithful native preachers, who had just returned from a preaching tour of the villages.

"Kwasiya, Madam,"<sup>3</sup> was his customary response to my greeting. Then while he retained the stiff, solemn posture, there followed questions concerning the health of myself and my family. "The Christians at Jokwe Village send greetings to you, Madam," he would say. "There were seven baptisms and three confessions of wrong at Siancongwe Village, and five were baptized at Mulamfu Village." Thus he related the results of his work.<sup>4</sup>

A number of features symbolized in this missionary-preacher relationship may be observed. Because of the preacher's lowly position, he could not enter the missionary's house, so that the whole conversation was carried out in the back yard. This was also the general practice in other walks of life in relationships involving

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1. Nsima: a porridge mash made out of maize flour which constitutes the base of a traditional Zambian meal.
  2. Kapenta: Small fish usually eaten with nsima in the relatively poor African homes.
  3. Tonga greeting meaning, "Good evening, Madam."
  4. Hobby, A (Mrs.) 'Reminiscences of Africa' in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.3. No.1. July, 1947. p.1.

Europeans and Africans. For instance, Africans could not enter European shops, but were allowed to purchase goods from them through a narrow window at the back of the shop. Secondly, the preacher was not only considered socially inferior by the missionary, but was made to show this by acting as an inferior - thus the stiff posture and the punctuation of his sentences with the word "Madam."

On a general level defining missionary - African relationships on mission stations, denominational differences between the missionary groups were, perhaps less important in shaping the attitudes of the missionaries toward the Africans than class, cultural and racial considerations. And while it could be stated that CC missionaries tended to emphasize, consciously or unconsciously, racial differences in their dealings with their African evangelists and teachers, PMS missionaries stressed class and cultural differences, so that the more their African converts became sufficiently tutored in Western culture, the more they became socially acceptable to them. Clearly, this difference in social outlook was explicable in terms of the backgrounds of these missionary groups. CC missionaries came from a background in which racial discrimination and segregation were acceptable features, so that the colonial situation of Shungu only reinforced their racial beliefs and attitudes. The extent to which these beliefs and attitudes remained important in the minds of these missionaries may be judged from the fact that a significant amount of their literature (reports to the sponsors and a wide readership<sup>in</sup> America) was devoted to popular American themes such as African skin pigmentation, or rhythm and sex in the African physical and psychological make up. Thus, after conducting experiments in African skin pigmentation and hair consistency, a missionary came to some interesting conclusions:

When the hair of the African was placed in the projector it remained where it was, dark,



unshaken, unmoved, and unaffected by the light. And then I understood a little better why the native African boys can work all day, bareheaded, in the direct sunlight with seemingly no ill effects, while Europeans must have some protection from the intense, tropical solar rays, which, if they fall directly on a person, may prove a menace to his health.

The African has a sun-shield, both in his opaque hair and his dark skin, which protects him from the harmful rays of the tropical sun, while we must use some artificial means...<sup>1</sup>

Another missionary concluded that Africans could not rid themselves of rhythm and sex, even at prayer in a Christian church. He wrote:

But there they go swaying, juggling, contorting, singing, in a palsied frenzy from head to foot, around and around through the night...

And so full are they of this kind of music and rhythm that it stays on after they accept Christ, and in their singing of the most solemn and sacred songs, they pant and jig in rhythm to the songs. Happy? How? With her lips she praises God. With her body she dances for joy before her Lord.<sup>2</sup>

And a lady missionary observed:

In America...it would not be safe for a lady to go unaccompanied through a negro settlement after night - even if there are electric lights and night-watchmen. But strange as it may seem, in heathen Africa where the word of God is new, a young lady might go 20 miles to town with one or two negroes, and perchance have car trouble and not get home till 9.00. o'clock at night and yet have not the least fear but that she will be treated with the highest respect. Or, a lady may attend nigh services where there are only negro men in attendance, and go home without the slightest fear of being molested.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Hobby, A. 'Sun shield,' in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 3 No. 11 May, 1948. p. 7.
  2. Reese, A.B. 'The dance', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.2. October, 1946. No. 4 p. 8.
  3. Brittell, J.A. 'Africa! Here and there', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 3. No.6. December, 1947. p. 5.



And yet another lady missionary wondered: "But how could a white woman be so wicked as to tempt a black man?"<sup>1</sup>

PMS missionaries, however, coming from Europe where the American-type of racial conflict between white and black did not exist because there were no blacks there to speak of, tended to emphasize cultural and class differences in their relationships with Africans. Thus, acculturated Africans at PMS mission stations were much more acceptable to the missionaries, socially, than those Africans who did not hold Western values. The missionaries often quickened the process of acculturation by taking young Africans with them to Europe during their furloughs. One of the first Africans to be so acculturated was a girl named Mufaya, later to become the wife of the evangelist Petrose Kasara at the Siakasipa annexe at Shungu. Mufaya came back from Europe, after eight months' residence in Italy and France, accomplished in French manners and fluent in the French language. She became the pride of the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station. A visiting missionary at this station wrote of her in 1899:

At Mosi-Oa-Thunya... we had the pleasure of speaking French to the wife of the evangelist Petrose. She went to Europe with M. and Mme Louis Jalla. It is strange to hear a native speaking French.<sup>2</sup>

Close social contact was maintained with Mufaya, even after she left the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station. In general, such social contact was also extended to the evangelists who were considered cultured by European standards. Thus the missionary, Louis Jalla, tells us about his efforts in this direction in 1908:

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1. Lawyer, Z.W. 1943. I married a missionary. p. 159.

2. M. P. Verdi to various friends. 1st September, 1899. In News of the Zambezi, February, 1900. p. 23.

In the evening, we invited to dinner the evangelists [Edward] and [Petrose Kasara] from Senkobo<sup>1</sup> and their two wives ... The dinner was ready, the table set and there we were happily installed, laughing and talking. Really we cannot say anything bad about these people whom the whites so often treat like animals. They would not have disgraced one of our dinners in Europe and we were happy to see them as we would princes. One of the wives was a little scared and didn't eat very much, keeping herself far away from the table, and protecting the peices which she took to her mouth with her open hand. But the other one [Mufaya] was perfect and her baby was very good.<sup>2</sup>

There is in the above extract, an indication of the acceptability of the evangelists on account of their accomplished Western social behaviour and a hint of disapproval with regard to the evangelist Edward's wife whose social ettiquette fell short of 'European' standards. And a tacit disdain for the raw African in the 'mission house' is clearly expressed by Mrs. Jalla, writing about a village girl who spent a few days working for her:

Mufaya has brought with her two young girls. I have taken on the older one to wash the clothes for the little one... Her mother looks very beautiful and very primitive with her two copper bracelets shining on her arms and legs, and her short skirts always covered with a goat skin. Sometimes, they arrive together on the verandah, and not being used to the staircases, they go on all fours, leaping up suddenly together straight in one bound. They don't seem to know how to walk on the floor or on the earth, and so go this way. It is not a pretty sight and one feels a little repugnance and a lot of pity.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Senkobo was the area in which the PMS annexe of Siakasipa was situated.
  2. Jalla, L. Letter dated 27/12/07. Livingstone in News of the Zambezi. 1907
  3. Jalla, L. (Mrs) Letter, dated 24th June, 1909. Livingstone In News of the Zambezi. October, 1909.p. 81.

The relations between Catholic missionaries and Africans on mission stations remain rather obscure, as mission records are closed to public scrutiny. Nevertheless, it would appear that Catholics enforced a severe form of racial segregation and many forms of discrimination against their African brethren. Mansfield, a white settler in the Rhodesias in the early part of this century says of the Catholics in Central Africa:

Of all the missionaries the Roman Catholics do the least harm for they never preach equality, nor allow the natives to approach the level of equality in any way. Therefore, politically as well as socially the Roman Catholic missionaries are to be congratulated.<sup>1</sup>

Mansfield's statement is borne out by the relations existing between white and black at the Livingstone station of the RCC. The older Catholic priests are known for their severity toward Africans in the past, and as one young priest said of the first Bishop of the diocese: "He should never have allowed himself to work among Africans. He hated them, as indeed did most Europeans of his time".

Until after Zambia's independence, the Catholics conducted separate church services and separate schools for Europeans and Africans in Livingstone. But by far the greatest contrast is provided by the relations existing between white sisters and black sisters on the Livingstone mission station prior to 1964. They were residentially segregated, with the African residential block located an appreciable distance away from that of the white sisters. They ate different food; the whites were provided with cooks and European food. The Africans had none of these facilities. They were provided with

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1. Mansfield, C. 1911. Via Rhodesia pp. 256-7. Quoted in L.H. Gann. 1958. Birth of a plural society. pp. 32 - 33.



mealie-meal, but in general were expected to supplement this with domestic and wild vegetables. They cooked for themselves. The white sisters were provided with essential clothing, including shoes. African sisters went barefoot. White sisters had European names and later, were allowed to use their parental names. African sisters were forced to renounce their African names and to assume Western Christian names. For holidays, white sisters were permitted to go back to Ireland or America to visit their own families. African sisters were not permitted to go to their homes of origin but were sent to other Convents for holidays, the reason being to keep them away from 'heathen' and 'pagan' influences.

Only recently have efforts been taken to try and bridge the social gap that exists between Catholic missionaries and Africans with equivalent training. I have already referred to the appointment of an African Bishop for the diocese. He occupies the Bishop's lodge and has a European priest for secretary. Yet, in the past, the social differences existing between Europeans and Africans on the mission station of Livingstone had a profound effect upon the Africans conception of Christianity. African sisters, including the first three ever to qualify, left the vocation out of disillusionment. Those I have talked to have stated that their years as novices or nuns were the most depressing phases of their lives. Some have stated that although they had started off with a strong belief in God, they soon lost it during their years of training in the Convent. Others stated that they were able to remain in the Convent for as long as they did because they needed to complete their secondary education. Indeed, the majority of those who have left their vocation as aspirants or novices are said to have done so soon after obtaining their Cambridge School Leaver's Certificates. Some of these have settled down well into married life, but a few have taken to drink and other

'disreputable' ways of life. One of the latter attributed her new 'disreputable' way of life to the frustrations she was obliged to endure at the Convent.

(b) Evangelization: from mission station to mission field

The mission station constituted the first point of sustained contact between missionary Christianity and the local population. While devoting most of their time to running and supervising mission stations, the missionaries also attempted simultaneously to venture out into the field so as to get into contact with the local population. Eventually, as the evangelists and catechists were trained, the missionaries cut back on their field tours and instead sent out their mission agents to missionize the people. These agents were sometimes settled among the local population, so as to exert Christian influence continuously.

The three major missionary groups at Shungu, the PMS, CC and RCC, each approached evangelism according to its own denominational and theological orientation. Both the two Protestant missionary groups, the PMS and CC were revivalist in their approach, yet there were slight differences in their baptismal requirements. The PMS missionaries viewed baptism as a marginal issue and saw their role mainly as that of purging the mission people of heathen practices. It was, thus, up to those who came after them to accomplish what they had begun. As the missionary, Louis Jalla, outlined this objective in 1931:

It must be enough for us to play the part of a lighthouse in darkness, showing the passing ship the dangers to avoid and what road to follow. The day will come when it is revealed to us how the end of our road has been reached.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Livingstone 1912/13  
PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.



Reference has already been made to the fundamentalist doctrine of the CC. Its literal interpretation of the Bible is more appealing to a people striving to relate its narrow world to a wider world order. The missionaries themselves related their evangelistic endeavours to the missionary ideals and achievements of the Apostle St. Paul. The Biblical command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature" had a special appeal for them.

CC missionaries measured their success by the number of baptisms they made in the field, and the high incidence of reversions was seen as a secondary issue. Considering all these factors, it is not surprising that the CC made more conversions numerically, than the PMS and RCC combined.<sup>1</sup>

The RCC did, indeed, stress the need for faith and baptism, but its main aim was to create a Province of the Church of Rome, in which everyone could be regarded as a potential convert. Its approach was long-term. It saw schools, rather than, revivalism, as the gateway to the Romanization of the total population.

The first sustained contact between the missionaries and the people of Shungu occurred at the PMS station of Kazungula from 1889<sup>2</sup>. There were, at the time there, a number of Lozi and Subiya chiefs and headmen who owned slaves, mostly Toka-Leya or Subiya. The missionaries directed their efforts toward convincing the mixed population of Kazungula that slavery was evil. One effect of this was to alienate the slave owners who boycotted religious sermons and resented the missionary

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1. See Table 4.

2. This was the date of establishment of the Kazungula Mission station. Kazungula itself forms the meeting point between the Toka-Leya and the Subiya. Up to about 1902, it was an integral part of Barotseland. It later became part of the Sekute chiefdom which it continues to be today.

presence in the area. Another effect was that the slaves and serfs, taking the opportunity to shake off their masters' yoke, flocked to the sermons. Thus beginning with the conversion of a young slave girl at the beginning of 1894, who "stood up suddenly during Sunday school and declared that from now on she was publicly binding herself to serving the Lord and exhorted each one to follow her example quickly,"<sup>1</sup> the number of converts rose dramatically within a short time. Thus in 1895, the missionary-in-charge was able to inform his fellow missionaries that:

We now have 130 souls in Kazungula who have openly broken off with their past in order to serve God. 40 of them are women, 90 are men, most of whom are in the prime of their life, 4 or 5 old people and ten young boys.<sup>2</sup>

The reactions of the chiefs were predictable:

difficulties, scoffings and slight persecutions have not lacked... Opposition is strong among the chiefs and jeering and cursing welcomed the converts in their dealings with the chiefs. Some of them have even tried to use threats to forbid their slaves from attending the services and meetings [but] they have only managed to rekindle the fire burning in the latter.<sup>3</sup>

But the slaves could defy their chiefs as they had never done before only because they could, in extreme cases of persecution from their masters, take refuge at the mission station and thus avoid certain death. No chief could touch the missionary, for his presence at Kazungula was sanctioned by the king himself.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Kazungula 1894.  
PMS. Records - Livingstone Museum.
  2. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Kazungula 1894/95  
PMS Records - Livingstone Museum.
  3. Ibid.
  4. The stationing at Kazungula of Prince Litia, Lewanika's son, who was himself a convert, reinforced the sanctity of the missionary-in-charge there.

The mass desertion of the slaves from their masters' homes, by way of Christianity, had far-reaching implications. In traditional society, the slave was an economic unit, to be used as a labour unit or a unit of exchange. Holub reports that Kazungula was a slave market towards the end of the nineteenth century. Slave-owners could dispose of their human possessions for yards of calico, guns and other imported trade items. On the other hand, they could sell their slaves locally for food, beasts, etc. With the liberation of the slaves, slave-owning households began to suffer economically. It will be remembered that slavery in Lozi-dominated territory - and Kazungula was one - was only finally abolished by joint agreement of the king and BSA Company in 1906.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, taxation was introduced in 1904. Many households therefore found themselves unable to meet the taxes. The result was that some sold their wives. Their wives were exchanged for oxen which in turn were sold for cash, to the utter disgust of the missionaries.<sup>2</sup>

When, eventually, the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station was established in 1898, the threat of slavery or war at Shungu had been removed by the British South Africa Company, which had established an administrative post at the Falls that same year, and the Toka-Leya appeared less keen for the Gospel. Yet prior to this itinerating PMS missionaries and evangelists had reported enthusiasm for the Gospel

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1. Gann, L.H. 1958. op. cit. p. 88: "Thus in 1906, after considerable pressure by the Administration, Lewanika allowed all serfs to buy their liberty for a cash payment of £2."
  2. Champod, A. Report on the station of Kazungula, 1904 - May 1905: "It looks as if the population / of Kazungula / is hungry and thirsty for money, and they will use every possible means to obtain some; but they do not want to work for it. They sell grain at an impossible price; others will sell their wife for an ox which they resell for a few pound sterling. This love for money has increased since the tax was introduced and shows in a few, mostly chiefs..."

among the local population.<sup>1</sup> Thus, after 1898, missionary contacts with the Toka-Leya for about a decade revealed the wide cultural gap that existed between them. As early as 1902, the missionary-in-charge of the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station had reported to his fellow missionaries in Barotseland:

If these conditions remain, it might be better to give up work temporarily, for life is too short, above all, in this country, to be spent in search of groups of people whose heart is not only hardened by paganism but also by the corrupting influence of white civilization, and who do not care to be awakened from their death slumber.<sup>2</sup>

The contact between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya during the post-slavery era did, indeed, present problems for both sides. It is obvious from the records of the missionaries themselves that the Toka-Leya did not quite understand or appreciate the religious role of the missionaries. Thus, we are told, some African converts began presenting their dreams to the missionaries for interpretation, in much the same way as they would have done to a local spirit medium or diviner.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, confession for wrong-doing became public affairs, in much the same way as witchcraft confessions were. Others interpreted incidents involving missionaries, explicable in the traditional society by reference to sorcery or

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1. In 1894, Louis Jalla, then stationed at the Kazungula station, wrote: "During the last six months Batoka has been twice visited almost from corner to corner by Paulus [the evangelist] and myself... If on the one hand I was surprised by the dispersal of the inhabitants and their relatively small number, the welcome given me everywhere, on the other, was highly encouraging and I have great hope that once it is visited regularly by the Gospel, this field will be most fertile". - Report on the station of Kazungula, 1894.
  2. Coisson, A. Report on the station of Livingstone 1901-1902 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  3. Louis Jalla. Letter dated 16th March, 1909. in News of the Zambezi: June, 1909. p. 53. Also see J. Roulet, Report on the station of Livingstone 1932/33.



witchcraft, in terms of the invulnerability of these strangers and their religion. Thus we are told that on one occasion, two goats presented to the missionary John Roulet of the PMS were found later to be the only ones that had survived an epidemic that had wiped out the whole village flock in northern Shungu. The villagers drew their own conclusions about the magical potency of the missionaries. As Mrs. Roulet tells the story:

All these people were very impressed. A few days ago, two young children brought the beasts in perfect condition. They said again, "Ah, yes! All died except those belonging to the missionary,"<sup>1</sup> And they shook their heads with a comic air.

In time, incidents of this nature came to reinforce the commonly held view at Shungu, and most certainly elsewhere in Central Africa, that Christianity was a potent force against all forms of traditional sorcery and witchcraft, and that all those who became Christians stood above such practices and were invulnerable to them. This point will be examined more fully in a later Chapter.

The missionaries, on the other hand, found the Toka-Leya difficult to understand, as they seemed to accept the missionary message, while at the same time maintaining their traditional beliefs and customs which the missionary was trying to uproot. Underlying the Toka-Leya resistance to total acceptance of the Christian message were three basic factors central to their world-view and social structure: ancestor worship, polygyny, and beer-drinking or brewing.

To the Toka-Leya, the existence of a Supreme Being, which the missionaries also postulated, was not in doubt at all; it was a belief that was also central to their own beliefs, and the missionary adoption of the local term,

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1. Roulet J. (Mrs.) Letter dated Livingstone, 21st November, 1923. In News of the Zambezi. September 23rd 1923 p. 44.



Leza, to render their own concept of 'God' only went to prove the similarity of their beliefs. Yet, to the Toka-Leya, Leza was a Being so far removed from the living, that the world could be properly understood in terms of the ancestors who were closer and approachable. Only through ancestral blessing could they have rain, good harvest; only with ancestral intervention and mediation could war and epidemics be averted.

Traditional religious beliefs were made much more enduring among the Leya of Mukuni and Sekute, in particular, because of the existence of religious functionaries whose role it was to maintain the religious cohesion of the chiefdoms and to perform religious ceremonies when need arose. It is significant that in the Musokotwane chiefdom where this religious office did not exist, resistance to Christianity was fairly weak and that in the Mukuni chiefdom where the office of Bedyango was more articulated, resistance to Christianity has also been marked. This is also reflected in the fact that the area remains a religious 'no man's land' despite the missionary onslaught upon it since 1898. The significance of the office of Bedyango may be seen from the fact that although both the late Chief Mukuni Siloka II and the present Chief Paul Mukuni were baptized members of the Catholic Church, their traditional religious roles have never been jeopardized. Both continued to lead their people in rain-making ceremonies with a conviction that is seemingly incompatible with their Christian beliefs. On the other hand, the weakening of the office of Ina-Sing'andu in the chiefdom of Sekute in recent years has coincided with an upsurge of interest in the Catholic Church by the older generation, even if this remains unspectacular. An old lady, from the Sekute dynasty put it thus: "We do not know what has come over our chief (mwami). He has taken away the title of Ina-Siag'andu from his elder sister, a respectable and knowledgeable woman in the ancient ways of our people. With her assistance we had rain, we had good crops, we had good health. But now he has

appointed his youngest daughter Ina-Siagandu. But she is married somewhere in the Western Province. In any case, what does a child like her know? Now the people are asking what all this is leading to. This has truly become a white man's land!"<sup>1</sup>

Yet the Toka-Leya did recognize the importance of the Christian message or, at least, the missionary himself. The missionary was offering an alternative world-view, a wider view with which they might comprehend the changes that were taking place as a result of the colonial occupation. He was, moreover, himself an asset to the people in matters concerning material benefits and in matters concerning their relations with the new colonial masters: he articulated their points of view for them.

It was this ambivalence on the part of the Toka-Leya that the missionaries could not bring themselves to understand or appreciate. Thus, Coisson found Chief Sekute's apparent acceptance of Christianity with his simultaneous indulgence in ancestor worship incomprehensible. He wrote in 1899:

The old chief of the village, Sekute, is always very polite to me. He is the most cunning and also the most false. Besides regularly attending our evening services of worship and the Sunday services, he gathers the people together to pray to the ancestors for rain, and he tosses bones to see if the rain is going to come. Hardly has he presided over such a ceremony than he is shouting to his people, "Let's go to pray! The missionary has arrived. Let's go to pray!" Then he comes and sits beside me and tries to sing hymns which I am teaching the people to sing.<sup>2</sup>

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1. 'White man's land in the missionary context. It is interesting to note that chief Sekute himself sees the problem differently. He insists that he no longer takes interest in traditional religious affairs because his subjects no longer obey his instructions in this respect. This point is discussed further in a later Chapter.
  2. Coisson, A. 'Latest Reports! in News of the Zambezi 1899. (Page number and date of the report omitted in the translation).

This seems to have been the pattern all over Shungu. Thus Jalla reported in 1910, about the evangelist Petrose Kasara's unexpected visit to Mukuni Village:

One day he arrives unexpectedly at Mokuni's. The chief had called... his people in order to ask his ancestors for rain. When they see the evangelist, everything changes; the gear used for cleaning the grave, and then sprinkling it with water, is put aside; the assembly listens respectfully to the evangelist's message. He exhorts them to give up their pagan gods and pray to the only God, alive and true. As often happens, hardly had the people scattered, then the clouds gather and soon a heavy rain falls. The first of the season changes the thirsty earth. "Come back as often as possible" the chief tells Petrose. "We shall be glad to hear you and we shall stop praying to our ancestors". Everywhere he took his message, Petrose found the same disposition [among the people].<sup>1</sup>

As I have stated above, polygyny formed another major obstacle to the acceptance of missionary Christianity, on the part of the Toka-Leya. This was particularly the case with the chiefs and other dignitaries in Toka-Leya society for whom polygyny was associated with social status, as I have pointed out in Chapter 2. In the traditional religion, polygyny was acceptable and the senior wife had a ritual role to play in the household. To this extent the possession of many wives by a single man was not incompatible with his moral and spiritual standing. It became nearly impossible for the chiefs (whose support the missionaries so badly needed) to be converted to Christianity in the early days, even if they had wanted to, on account of the implications of such conversion upon their status as leaders, since they would have to give up their several wives. A few cases illustrating the constraining role of polygyny in the acceptance of Christianity by the Toka-Leya may be cited here.

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1. Jalla, L. Livingstone Report 1910. PMS Records  
Livingstone Museum.

Case 1

Perhaps the most outstanding case in this respect is that of the incumbents to the Siakasipa chiefship between 1893 and 1935. In 1893, Louis Jalla had befriended Chief Siakasipa, whom he had found recovering from a Ndebele raid that had decimated his population.<sup>1</sup> Jalla had taken back with him to Kazungula, a son of Siakasipa's whom he had hoped to educate and convert to Christianity. When eventually the Mosi-Oa-Thunya mission station was established in 1898, the Siakasipa area proved to be the most sympathetic to the missionaries, and an annexe was established there as a result. Yet the old chief, while supporting the missionaries, and even allowing his own daughter to be converted, remained only distantly interested in Christianity.<sup>2</sup> One of the reasons was that he had many wives whom he did not wish to give up. He died in 1909 and was succeeded by his mission-educated son who continued to support the missionaries, but again refrained from being converted on account of the traditional values he had to maintain as a chief and leader. He died in 1935 and was succeeded by his son Mukubi, a baptized Christian of the PMS while in Livingstone. Now that one of their "good" Christians had succeeded to the chiefship, the PMS missionaries became optimistic about the progress of their work in the area. But, in fact, the opposite happened. Mukubi took a second wife immediately and became unco-operative with the missionaries. This marked the <sup>rapid</sup> decline of PMS influence in the area.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa pp. 530 - 531.
  2. Jalla, L. Livingstone Report. 1907 PMS Records Livingstone Museum.
  3. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1937 - 38: "We must admit that after the death of the old Chief, an old pupil of M. Louis Jalla at Kazungula, his son Mukubi, who succeeded him, has greatly deceived us. While he was working at Livingstone he was one of our most faithful Christians. But a few months after his nomination, he took a second wife. Order and discipline in the village quickly lapsed."



Case 2.

Mooka, one of the two important chiefs at the Falls early in this century, had attended Coillard's school in Barotseland and even became a Christian. On coming back, he took several wives and became alienated from the church. As Coisson reports in 1899:

The second chief [at the Falls] is called Mooka. He is the youngest and the most important in some areas. He was attending Mr. Coillard's school at Sefula. He can read, write and sing but is far from being Christian. He was, I believe, a Christian, but only for a few days: he discarded his new beliefs and principles so that he could marry his second wife, then his third, then his fourth and, I think that on my last visit, he had found his fifth; only he tells me she is still too young and is having to stay at home for a while.<sup>1</sup>

Case 3

The present chief Musokotwane was baptized in the CC in the early days before he became chief in 1938. He has since taken two other wives in accordance with custom and is temporarily alienated from the church.

Many more examples relating to people either unable to become Christians in mission churches or being alienated from such churches on account of their involvement in polygynous marriages could be cited, but the three cases given above sufficiently illustrate the point.

Beer-brewing and drinking was another point of contention between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya. Indeed, both the PMS and CC blew up the issue of drink to proportions quite out of keeping with its alleged 'evil' effects, and to the extent that the local people were sometimes led to associate Christianity with abstinence from beer-drinking. In other words the Christian religious

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1. Coisson, A. 'Latest Reports', in News of the Zambezi 1899. (Page number and date of report omitted in the translation).



worth of a man was determined by the fact that he drank or abstained from beer. Thus, in the villages, Christian communities were described as "abstainers from beer," and non-Christian communities as "beer-drinkers" or drunkards"<sup>1</sup>. Yet in the traditional society, as we have already seen in Chapter 2, beer played a social, economic as well as religious role which the missionaries were not prepared to accept. Thus we find the missionary Jalla taking drastic physical action against a church member who allowed beer to be brewed in his house for sale:

I have had to turn over some big pots of native beer which the guardian of the Church had permitted to be brewed at his house. Although he doesn't drink himself, his conscience is free enough to permit a pagan to make drink under his roof to sell in town.<sup>2</sup>

Like Jalla, Roulet was equally outspoken in his condemnation of beer-drinking and constantly urged the Administration to stop selling beer to Africans and to ban beer-brewing generally. But in this he appears to have been unsuccessful because as the magistrate told him, it "could scarcely be done, because the blacks drink beer in the villages round about and the doctor has found that the beer is a good tonic for the blacks and stops the scurvy, which is very prevalent among them"<sup>3</sup>. In the villages, as if to underline the social importance of beer, a village headman welcomed Roulet with a glass of beer. As Mrs. Roulet recounts:

One day, one of them offered a glass of alcoholic beer to my husband as a present of welcome to his village. You can imagine the sermon my husband gave them about this beer which they drink in such large quantities and which lowers

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Tonga Christianity. pp. 100-102.
  2. Jalla, L. Letter dated, Lvingstone 16th March, 1909. In News of the Zambezi. June 1909. p. 53
  3. Letter from Mme John Roulet, dated 4th July, 1915, In News of the Zambezi, Nov. 1915. p. 72.

them to a brutish level.<sup>1</sup>

Earlier, in 1900, Coisson had had a similar experience:

In one village, at 15 km from here, a headman who had offered me a pot of beer and was himself full of beer, interrupted me twice during the service, once to introduce his family, and another time right in the middle of my teaching to ask for a Sunday dress for his first wife. I have scolded him as one scolds a child, to obtain silence. Fortunately, the village people sympathized with me and approved my action, because the chief was not pleased and could have resented it.<sup>2</sup>

As I have said already, the missionaries found themselves tolerated and even accepted by the Toka-Leya on account of their mediatory role with the colonial authorities and the white settlers who were considered a worse evil. The missionaries also distributed gifts. Chiefs Sekute and Mooka had indicated the manner in which they viewed the missionary in 1899. As Coisson has recorded:

As far as accepting Christ into their own hearts is concerned, they are unable to do it. The oldest says: "Yes, let the missionaries come and live among us. Let them teach our children to read, let them teach about Christ; we like that sort of thing. As for us, we are too old and we like certain of our customs". And the youngest chief said: "We especially like to have plenty of wives."<sup>3</sup>

At the Kazungula station, the missionary Albert Champod had also come to the conclusion that the local people were more interested in the material benefits the mission station could offer them than in religious matters. He wrote, in 1905:

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1. Letter from Mme John Roulet, dated Livingstone 21st November, 1923, in *News of the Zambezi*. September, 23 1923. p. 44.
  2. 'Notes from letters written by Rev. and Mrs. Coisson, 1898 - 1906'. Livingstone Museum Records. (G.135. Reg. Acc. 7931).
  3. Coisson, A. 'Latest reports' in *News of the Zambezi* 1899. (Page number and date of letter accidentally omitted in the translated text.)

In Kazungula itself, inspite of the daily visits to the villages, I have rarely come across a single soul asking for the way of the Lord. Among the men, only one asked for information and showed a wish for instruction. Two women did so also. So I decided to have a meeting with them. Three more men who claimed to be old professants joined them. The third of our meetings was the last! The so-called professants quickly showed their true selves. They kept on coming on to the station to beg. Using their names of balumeli /believers/ they thought that piety would bring them money. Since money was not there, their piety quickly vanished. Unfortunately that is Christianity for many of them<sup>1</sup>. (My emphasis).

Champod went on to elaborate:

In Kazungula, the population is not only indifferent but hostile to the gospel. The natives will say that they like us, but they hate us. They will ask the missionary living among them to stay, for he is a kind of decoration they even boast about. But in fact they want him to be as far away as possible ... They will not be rude to him; they will let him talk about God's things in their huts and in public. 'To talk and to preach is his job,' they think. But they will laugh at whoever listens to him. So he is tolerated for he is useful to men. But the reluctance to come to the services, and once there, the coughing, the comings and goings to disturb the service, all this shows clearly that they do not want the Gospel.<sup>2</sup>

At the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station, the PMS missionaries could count, in 1908, only 5 Toka-Leya baptized and 13 catechuments at the Siakasipa annexe.<sup>3</sup> The lack of spectacular success, coupled with the isolation of the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station since the white community had moved to the new town of Livingstone in 1907, compelled the PMS to move its station to the town too, there to

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1. Champod, A. Report on the station of Kazungula  
November, 1904 - May 1905

2. Ibid.

3. Jalla, L. Reports on the station of Livingstone 1907,  
1908 and 1909.

direct its efforts toward the evangelization of the Lozi labour migrants and toward the running of schools. The missionary-in-charge also took charge of the Christian congregations of the 'Blantrye Missions' - the Dutch Reformed Church and the Scottish Presbyterian Mission - which were without their own missionaries.

In Livingstone, the PMS had much more success than it had among the Toka-Leya. A survey carried out in 1913 showed that it had the largest African following of all the Christian churches. Thus out of a total number of 1,000 Africans in the town, the PMS had a following of 300, the rival UMCA 70, and the rest of the people, numbering 630 were either Moslems or adherents of traditional religions.<sup>1</sup>

Yet even with the boost of the African population the number of PMS baptized Africans remained surprisingly low. It only rose from 6 in 1918 to 33 in 1943 (see Table 2). And even more significant was the fact that the Toka-Leya, or at least those of them who had been PMS adherents, now practically absconded to join the CC.

The CC attracted more Toka-Leya than the PMS. Reference has already been made to its evangelistic approach which no doubt accounted for this. But the strength of the church lay in its policy of using mission agents to carry out the evangelization of Shungu. The transfer of field responsibility from the missionaries to the preachers was justified by the former in altruistic terms such as, "Just as the best teacher is the native himself, so it is likewise true that the native is the best one to preach to his own people, the most successful evangelistic work being done by the African himself."<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact

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1. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Livingstone, 1912/13
  2. Hobby, A. 'Evangelistic work', in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 2. No. 7. January, 1947. p.2.



## PARIS MISSIONARY SOCIETY CONVERTS

SHUNGU AREA (INCLUDING LIVINGSTONE TOWN)<sup>1</sup>

YEAR	MISSION STATIONS	MISSION-ARIES	ANNEXES	EVANGE-LISTS	TOKA-LEYA CATECHU-MENS	CATECHU-MENS (FOR THE WHOLE AREA)	TOKA-LEYA CHRSTNS	CHRSTNS (FOR THE WHOLE AREA)	CHURCH OR CHAPELS	TOTAL POP. OF DISTRICT (FIELD)
1898	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	*
1903	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	*
1908	1	2	2	2	13	13	5	5	3	7,000
1913	1	3	1	1	*	*	*	*	2	7,000
1918	1	2	1	0	0	17	0	6	3	7,000
1923	1	2	3	1	*	57	0	8	2	7,000
1928	1	2	0	0	*	15	*	19	2	10,000
1933	1	2	1	0	0	37	*	20	3	8,000
1938	1	2	2	0	0	25	0	23	2	9,000
1943	1	2	2	1	0	16	0	33	2	10,000

\* Figure not available.

1. All figures based on PMS records.

TABLE "2"



this was not a new policy for the CC, although it assumed a new significance after 1923 when American missionaries took over the running of the CC north of the Zambezi. Prior to this, Peter Masiya and Bulawayo Kukano had evangelized for the church without missionary supervision and without external financial support. Now, African preachers, teachers, and baptized village elders were drawn, in varying degrees, into active evangelical work. In the CC field as a whole, which extended beyond Shungu to include the Kalomo and Kabanga areas to the north, the number of full-time African preachers rose from 3 in 1923 to 10 in 1946 and 1950<sup>1</sup> and to 47 in 1968.<sup>2</sup> The number of baptized Africans rose from 200 in 1923 to over 10,000 after 1948.<sup>3</sup>

Yet the extensive engagement of mission agents was not without its implications, both upon the development of missionary work and upon the traditional society. It is these two aspects that I want to consider finally. As I have already indicated, the engagement of evangelists, and catechists, etc., tended to increase the volume of administrative work for the missionary, so that the more of these medial staff he engaged, the more records he had to keep. In effect, it called for a more efficient bureaucratic mission structure, with administrative and technical duties concentrated in the hands of the missionary. As the missionary became detached from his mission people at the grassroots, he had to rely more and more upon his mission agents for the evangelization of his field. This development tended to give the evangelists and catechists much power and prestige in the eyes of their fellow Africans who now referred their religious problems to them for onward transmission to the missionary. The implication

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1. Shewmaker, J.C. 'Glimpses in Northern Rhodesia, 1950', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 6 No.8. Feb. 1951.pp.9-10.
  2. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970 Tonga Christianity. Appendix B.
  3. Short, W.N. 'Notes', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.6. Nos. 6 and 7 December 1950 and Jan. 1951 p. 5.

of this was that mission structures turned into what Beidelman has called "arenas for the exercise of power, prestige, and self interest"<sup>1</sup> which ran counter to the interests of missionary work as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Africans tended to join the medial positions of evangelist, catechist, etc., not for their religious significance but for secular rewards. This trend in the mission structure is illustrated by the kind of converts who became attracted to the PMS at Shungu. Thus, although the Toka-Leya virtually rejected the PMS, the few young men who became catechumens of this church were bent upon one objective - to be sent to the Bible School at Lukona in Barotseland in order to be trained as evangelists.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in the early colonial days when few positions in colonial organizations were open to the Africans, the position of evangelist offered them some measure of social mobility, and the Africans wished these positions perpetuated for this very reason. Religious considerations therefore became secondary.

To some extent, the mission agents were supposed to bridge the cultural gap between the missionaries and the Africans at the grassroots. They were sufficiently tutored in Christianity and Western civilization to be able to transmit these values to the Africans. On the other hand the mission agents were well-versed in the ways of life of their own people to be able to provide the missionary with the necessary information upon which he could formulate new field strategies. This role placed the mission agents in an ambiguous position, particularly in their dealings with their own people. During their evangelistic encounters with the missionaries in the early day, Africans in the field might have thought it prudent to

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1. Beidelman, T.O. op. cit. p. 246.

2. This applied to the African evangelists as well as to the missionaries themselves.

3. Thus, of the five catechumens in Petrose Kasara's class at the Siakasipa annexe, three approached Jalla with a view to entering the Bible School - Report on the station of Livingstone 1907. Also, after 1925, the two Toka-Leya catechists, Muba and Matakala were sent to the Bible School to train as evangelists.

void taking an open and critical view of missionary teaching on contentious issues such as polygyny, ancestor worship, beer-drinking, dance and music. They realised only too well that the missionary could always invoke the authority of the Administration to coerce them into abandoning these customs when religious persuasion proved inadequate. But they threw off their reserve and became openly critical when the people concerned in the propagation of these socially destructive ideas were their own kind. Missionary records abound with information relating to incidents of open hostility between mission agents and the local people. A few examples might help to illustrate the dilemma of the mission agents and converts in rural situations.

Mafuta Simbeza, one of the first preachers of the CC having been baptized on the same day as Kambole (patamatenga in 1918)<sup>1</sup>, was obliged to leave Mujala Village near Sinde Mission to seek sanctuary at the mission station because the inhabitants of the village ignored his religious admonitions. As A CC missionary states:

After preaching for years to a people whose ears were deaf to the gospel, Mafuta finally moved on to one end of the mission where his little boys, for a small sum, helped to herd goats... We wanted to help the old fellow because of his faithfulness and affliction, and he thought it a good time to get out of "Sodom" with his family.<sup>2</sup>

When Mafuta's wife died, he wanted to bury her on mission grounds, but his wife's relatives took the body to their village and had it buried traditionally.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Shewmaker, Stan, 1970. Op. cit. p. 50
  2. Shewmaker, J.C. (Mrs.) 'Old faithful', in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 2. No. 6. December, 1946. p.1.
  3. Brittell, J.A. (Mrs.) 'And who knows', in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 5. No.9. March, 1950. p.3.

Mooka was a leper who had been baptized at Sinde Mission in the 1930's and became a strong adherent of the CC. He moved over to a village near Kabanga Mission in order to be near the mission clinic where he could obtain treatment for his illness. He took with him his family, cattle and other property as he expected his period of treatment to be long. Soon his best bull was killed because, so the villagers said, it was dangerous. He was awarded little compensation for this, and even then only after six months of litigation. Then "the village people said he had too many cattle, that he brought ill luck, that he would not pray to the spirits, etc. etc., until they drove him out of the village altogether, and forced him to live in the open veldt." He was soon driven away from his hut on the veldt as well. Then he moved farther to another spot. "But they came and ploughed around his hut again. They said 'this is a very selfish man, he does not make beer for his friends'". He moved yet a fourth time to the village of a fellow patient. But when a drought occurred, the headman of the village approached Mooka and said, 'Make beer and pray to the spirits so that we can have rain.' Mooka replied: "But I pray to God only." And the headman pointed out: 'But we are dying of starvation. You must follow the ancient custom and help bring rain.' Mooka said: "But I cannot. I believe in only one God and Jesus." The headman asked Mooka: 'Do you want to kill these people?' And he replied: "I want to please God". Then the headman told him: 'Then get out of my village!'<sup>1</sup>

In 1950, a row erupted between a Christian community, led by a preacher, Bulawayo Kukano, and the non-Christian community, of a village near Sinde Mission, over the right of burial. A Christian member of the CC had died. The husband of the deceased sided with the Christian faction

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1. Merritt, J.D. 'Mooka', in Glimpses of Africa, Vol.1. Nos. 5 and 6. November and December, 1945. p.1.



and wanted the body buried according to the prescribed Christian manner. The relatives of the deceased who were on the side of the non-Christians wanted the body buried according to African tradition. They were supported by the local chief. The matter came to a head when the Christian faction told the non-Christians: "Christians have nothing to do with idols and heathen worship". This angered the chief and his elders who sent a runner with a message to the District Commissioner, accusing the preacher and his Christian supporters of flouting traditional authority.

The preacher was arrested by policemen sent by the District Commissioner and brought to trial eventually. The District Commissioner, who appears to have been the trial magistrate, realising the implication of this arrest upon CC missionary morale and relations with his Department, released the preacher, warning the chief: "You have no case against this man. You must not interfere with Christians and their beliefs, else you will be the prisoner".<sup>1</sup>

These three incidents, taken from CC records, illustrate the dilemma of the mission agents amongst their fellow Africans. Only too often they were regarded with suspicion, as agents of the whites and were forced to seek protection from the missionaries, their employers. The last incident shows that the mission agents' efforts to uphold Christian practices had the effect of splitting up village communities into hostile camps of Christians and non-Christians. The hostility between such communities was expressed in terms of "worshippers of God" and "abstainers from beer" on the one hand and "spirit-worshippers" and "drunkards" on the other.<sup>2</sup> This was

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1. Shewmaker, J.C. 'As it was told to me', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 6 No.5 November, 1950.p.5.

2. Shewmaker, Stand. 1970. op. cit. p. 95 and p. 96.



clearly a development not intended by the missionaries.

In this Chapter, I have attempted to show the implications of missionizing through mission stations and mission agents at Shungu. To begin with, I have shown that the establishment of mission stations by the missionaries, ultimately dependent as it was on the authority of the Colonial Administration, had the effect of alienating the Africans on whose land the stations were established.

I have also shown that as more and more evangelists, catechists, teachers and other Africans in medial positions were engaged, and as mission stations assumed other administrative functions, the missionaries became detached from the people at the grassroots and became administrators, in much the same way as their counterparts in the colonial administrative structure. The missionaries thus came to wield much secular power and authority which ran counter to missionary ethics and thus posed a problem for many missionary groups. It also had far-reaching implications for the mission peoples, given that missionary teaching clearly extolled religious and spiritual virtue and looked down upon secular authority.

I have shown, further, that through the mission structure, the missionaries provided their African followers with models of behaviour which were contrary to their own religious teaching, but were largely determined by secular attributes such as the class, nationality and incomes of individual missionaries and missionary groups.

I have shown that although initially the missionaries were able to convert a significant number of people at Shungu, such converts were mainly slaves and other people of low status in society. Their conversion served as an escape route from their positions of servitude. Once the

threat of slavery and other forms of subjection among the local population were removed, with the authority of the Colonial Government, the conversions became rare, and the cultural gulf separating the missionaries from the Africans became clearly defined. The missionaries were tolerated only because of the gifts, educational and medical services they provided.

The engagement of mission agents - evangelists, catechists, etc. - to bridge the cultural gap existing between the missionaries and the Africans posed other far-reaching problems. In the first place, because much secular power and authority attached to these medial positions, Africans began to fill them precisely for this reason, rather than for their religious significance. Secondly, the Africans in rural communities began to express their resentment against Christianity much more openly when dealing with their fellow Africans than with the missionaries themselves. Thus, mission agents were often accused of being the tools of the missionaries, out to destroy the old order of society.

## CHAPTER 8

### MISSIONARY STRATEGIES OF CHRISTIANIZATION: SECULAR AVENUES

#### Introduction

In the last Chapter, I discussed the implications of the attempt by the missionaries to spread Christianity among the Toka-Leya by direct methods of **evangelization**. I showed that even with the use of basically conventional methods, the actual process of missionizing posed contradictions which had far-reaching implications for both the missionaries and the mission peoples. In this Chapter, I carry the discussion further and examine the implications of the use by missionaries, of specifically 'secular aspects of European culture' to attract the Toka-Leya to Christianity.

It has been the missionary experience the world over that the majority of the mission peoples do not easily abandon their own traditional religious beliefs and customs to embrace Christianity, unless there were pressing circumstances for doing so. We noted in the last Chapter that the missionaries were more successful in converting the Toka-Leya during the days when slavery was rife, but that when this threat had been removed from the latter's lives by the intervention of the BSA Company, the response to Christianity became less enthusiastic, at least for the next decade. Yet the true position was that the Africans still needed the missionary's presence among them for the secular services he rendered. This provided a key factor in the new phase of missionizing. It had already been proved in East and West Africa, where the missionaries had been working for a longer time, that properly used, vital services, which themselves bore

relatively little relation to religious and spiritual matters could, in deprived societies, provide the basis upon which Christianity could be spread to such societies without necessitating the confrontation that inevitably occurred when the more direct methods of evangelization were employed.<sup>1</sup>

At Shungu, the colonial occupation and the commercial and industrial expansion that followed provided the stimulus for the success of the missionary venture. A demand arose among Africans for European cash and clothing and the triumph of Western medicine over the ng'anga's prescriptions was confirmed. The Toka-Leya came to observe that the black foreigners, such as the men from Nyasaland and Lesotho who had had the privilege of obtaining Western education and skills through mission schools held jobs in Livingstone which gave them relatively higher earnings and status. They observed, too, that these were the men that the Europeans preferred to employ; they were the men who could talk to Europeans in English, which was quite a novelty in those days among Africans. They were the teachers, clerks, evangelists, interpreters and artisans. The missionaries capitalized upon the fact that the Government of the day, succumbing to the protests of the white settlers, was unwilling to provide schools and, to some extent, medical and other social services to the Africans. It was not until 1925, for instance, that the Colonial Government became involved in African education. Again, Africans in Livingstone were provided with a hospital only after Europeans who employed them complained to the Government about the problems they encountered from their sick employees. In 1906, for instance, Leopold Moore, Editor of The Livingstone Mail, and spokesman of the white community, wrote:

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1. This was a subtle way of introducing Christianity to the mission peoples.

In our Chemist capacity, we feel very much inclined to address a matter of ourself in our Editorial capacity asking where the Native Hospital is. Daily we are solicited by indigent natives to supply them with 'muti' for the cure of repulsive-looking sores, or to minister to other ailments. They never have any money, or if they have will certainly not spend it on medicine; the missionaries have taught them to expect that to be supplied gratis. We wonder what an employer is supposed to do with his sick boys? He can neither treat them nor keep them indefinitely. Is an averagely humane man called upon to turn his fellow creature into the veld to recover or starve, or is there some means of dispensing with such cases? We pause for a reply.<sup>1</sup>

In the rural areas of Shungu, however, no medical services were provided by the Government until well after 1940.

By providing these services, therefore, the missionaries were able to attract to their institutions, large numbers of Africans over whom they came to exercise a great deal of religious influence. In the classrooms, Bible instruction was emphasized above all other subjects and this was to be the structure of mission education in the whole territory. As the then Bishop of Northern Rhodesia put on record at the 1914 General Missionary Conference held in Livingstone:

We consider religious teaching of the greatest importance and secular teaching secondary. Secular instruction without religious teaching is a danger to the State.<sup>2</sup>

This point was again underline by all the missionary societies represented at the General Missionary Conference

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1. Moore, F. 'The native hospital' in The Livingstone Mail. 20th October, 1906. But it was not, in fact, until 1932 that the Africans has a proper hospital in Livingstone.
  2. Bishop J.H. Hine. Log Book of St. Andrew's Church, Livingstone. Vol.1. May 1910 - November, 1946.



in 1918, when Government published on 16th April, 1918, a 'Native Schools Proclamation' by which mission schools would come under some sort of Government control to improve the appallingly low standards of some of them. The missionaries resisted the Government move because they feared that it would limit their pastoral jurisdiction over the school children.<sup>1</sup> An attempt by Government authorities in 1924 to introduce a State-controlled school in Livingstone was equally stoutly and successfully resisted by the PMS missionary-in-charge for the same reason.<sup>2</sup> It was not until after 1943 that the Government ran African schools in Livingstone. In rural Shungu, however, the missionaries remained the sole educators until after Zambia's independence (1964). The last mission-run rural primary schools at Shungu were handed over to Government by decree in 1974.

There was, however, another reason why the missionaries favoured the use of schools in their efforts to evangelize the Africans. It was their conviction that a true understanding of the Scriptures came only with the ability to read and study them by individuals. Literacy thus became linked with religious attainment and most missionary societies taught in the local languages to enable people to understand the Bible. But the implication of this, as we shall see later in this Chapter, was to alienate African school-goers whose chief aim had been to gain a working knowledge of English.

In the mission-controlled hospitals and clinics, too, the missionaries came to exercise religious influence over the patients, who were evangelized as they were treated.

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1. Weller, J. 1975. 'The influence on nation affairs of Alston May, Bishop of Northern Rhodesia 1914-40', in T.O. Ranger and John Weller (Eds.). Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa. pp. 197-198
  2. Roulet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone 1923/24  
PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

It was common for missionaries to tell Africans that the diseases they suffered from were the result of their own sins. A CC missionary, for instance, wrote:

Many many times when I have been preaching out in the villages, I have used leprosy to try to bring home the awfulness of sin.<sup>1</sup>

Another missionary saw the mental illness of four orphans as the result of "the sins of their parents, no doubt."<sup>2</sup>

The distribution of clothing and blankets to the Africans, earned the CC a great reputation at Shungu and attracted many potential converts. An idea of the mission's popularity may be gained from the following description of a gifts day at Sinda Mission in 1948.

Very early in the morning, long before the sun so full of God's warmth and love peeped over the hill, many little black shivering forms began to gather around our door for clothes until the number reached 79 before breakfast. All were barefooted and coatless and some had a garment (?) for covering so ragged and torn that it was difficult to keep it hanging onto the shoulders.

Long after all the clothes... were distributed - even when I returned from school - there still sat a wistful crowd waiting, that per chance there might be some more clothing brought out.<sup>3</sup>

These, then, were some of the services the missionaries offered the Africans at Shungu. In the sphere of education alone, the number of Africans who sought a mission education rose significantly from 1898 to 1950. Beginning with only 4 pupils in 1899, the PMS had, in its Shungu schools by 1913, 495 pupils. But because of the precariousness of the financial position of this mission, the number had dropped to 469 by 1943. (See Table 3 ). And the CC,

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1. Brittell, O.D. 'Leprosy', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol.1 No.8. February, 1946. p. 3.
  2. Korfker, D. 1970. Mother of eighty p. 109.
  3. Brittell, J.A. 'What shall the king say?' In Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 4. Nos. 1 and 2. July and August, 1948. p.1.

SHUNGU AREA (INCLUDING LIVINGSTONE TOWN)

YEAR	BOARDING SCHOOLS	DAY AND NIGHT SCHOOLS	AFRICAN TEACHERS AND HELPERS	STRENGTH OF TEACHING STAFF (INCLUDING MISSIONARIES AND HELPERS)	PUPILS AT BOARDING SCHOOL	PUPILS AT DAY AND NIGHT SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS
1899	0	1	1	1	0	4	4
1903	1	1	1	3	15	25	40
1909	1	1	3	5	18	100	118
1913	0	2	1	3	0	495	495
1919	0	5	3	5	0	55(k)	55(k)
1923	0	4	5	6	0	+	+
1929	0	3	3	5	0	127	127
1933	0	3	7*	9*	0	212	212
1939	0	2	7*	9*	0	234	234
1943(n)	0	3	7	9	0	469	469

\* Figure taken from the year before.

+ Number unknown.

(k) Excluding the number of pupils of Maramba School for the 'Blantyre' people.

(n) Including 1 school, 1 teacher and 52 children at the Victoria Falls Southern Rhodesia whose fathers came from Mukuni Village.

TABLE 3

beginning with an unspecified but small number of pupils in 1923, there were, by 1946, 1,020 pupils enrolled in the Shungu schools alone.<sup>1</sup> No comprehensive statistics are available for the Catholic Mission at Shungu. (see Table 4). Yet it may be pointed out that Catholic policy has been to work towards the Romanization of the diocese by means of school conversions. The Catholic priest at Makunka Mission told me that his Church based its approach on the Nigerian experience where the policy has worked successfully. There can be little doubt, however, that a significant number of Africans went through RCC schools. For instance soon after the mission was established in Livingstone in 1931, Catholic schools are reported to have been built in almost every African residential suburb in Livingstone.<sup>2</sup> After 1937, the Catholics controlled the two schools in the Sekute area until the Government established a third one after 1950. In the Mukuni area, too, they are said to have controlled 4 of the 5 primary schools in 1954.<sup>3</sup>

At the CC Orphanage of Sinde, the number of orphans rose from 2 in 1946 to 80 in 1964,<sup>4</sup> shortly before the institution was closed down by order of the State which declared the idea of an orphanage alien to Zambian tradition.

### The implications

I have attempted to show above, the strategies devised by the missionaries to draw large numbers of Africans to mission institutions so as to interest them in Christianity. I have also shown the extent to which the Africans responded to the missionary strategies. I now wish to turn

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1. 'Churches of Christ missions in Northern Rhodesia' in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 2 No. 8. February, 1947.p.8.
  2. See Reports on the station of Livingstone, from 1931-39
  3. Chief Mukuni Siloka II. Tour report. 19th October, 1954.
  4. Korfker, D. 1970 Mother of eighty. p. 324, etc

MISSIONARY SCHOOLS, ENROLMENT AND GOVERNMENT AID<sup>1</sup>

1946<sup>2</sup>

SOCIETY	GRADED SCHOOLS						UNGRADED SCHOOLS		AMOUNT OF GOVERNMENT OR GRANT-IN- AID IN £
	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	GRADED SCHOOLS		AVERAGE ATTENDANCE TOTAL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF SCHOLARS OF ROLL			
		MALES	FEMALES						
Church of Christ Capuchin Fathers Mission Paris Mission	7	600	215	851	16	892	1,023-10-5		
	86	5,954	3,097	9,051	2	125	4,382- 2-5		
	121	7,677	3,782	11,459	-	-	8,036-16-10		

1. The statistics cover PMS schools at Shungu as well as in Barotseland; CC schools at Shungu as well as in the Kalomo and Kabanga areas; Capuchin Fathers schools, mostly at Shungu, but also in Mulobezi and Sichili (Barotseland).
2. Based on the Government African schools returns (See Northern Rhodesia Blue book, 1946. Q4, Section 17 - Education).

TABLE 4



my attention to examining the implications of the use of 'secular aspects of Western culture' by the missionaries for religious goals.

The establishment and management of schools, orphanages, clinics, hospitals, etc., is a task that demands efficient and rational organization as well as centralization of authority. Thus when mission structures undertake to provide these services they inevitably find themselves moving away from their purely religious roles to administrative and other roles. As we have already noted in the last Chapter, this development has raised an awareness within missionary circles as well as within the ranks of the mission peoples about the discrepancies between the professed role of the missionary and the actual role he plays in the mission field. Stan Shewmaker, a CC missionary and writer, has articulated this dilemma thus:

By their very nature mission institutions demand routine, consistency, and continuity. Schools do not open or close their door at random. Schedules have to be made and met. There have to be enough teachers and sufficient funds to enable a school to function. ... The institution comes first, it must go on, evangelism and post-baptismal indoctrination can wait.

Where institutional work or the mission station is still the centre of a particular missionary effort, young missionaries have gone to the field inspired by indigenous church principles and anxious to put them into practice, only to find that the existing institutional organization dictates otherwise. Tensions and frustrations arise because these new missionaries feel that they are surrendering their primary objective by giving so much of their time to less important duties.<sup>1</sup>

Shewmaker also expresses the implication of this development from the Africans' point of view:

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Tonga Christianity. pp. 110 - 111.

When institutions receive top priority in terms of missionary personnel and money, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to convince people that Christ and His Church are more important than our nice-looking school. Not only do we, as missionaries, forget our main goal, but what is more tragic, the nationals see external manifestations which do not correspond with our inward intentions. This severely impedes church growth.<sup>1</sup>

The strong emphasis the missionaries have attached to these strategic institutions has had interesting effects upon the local population at Shungu. The older generations tend to hold the view that missionary Christianity is meant for the young who go to school. This has particularly affected the RCC which has until only recently worked through schools to win converts and has largely avoided open evangelism to the non-school goers. A Catholic missionary in charge of a rural parish at Shungu explained to me that this policy has affected the image of the Church significantly, particularly after Government took over the running of primary school in rural areas in 1974. The priest does not now have the full opportunity to teach Bible knowledge to the pupils in the new Government-controlled schools, so that he does not have the same rate of conversions as in the past. When he turns to direct evangelism in the villages, the people find it difficult to understand what he wants from them as they believe that he should be preaching only to their children. As a result, in the Kalamba neighbourhood of nearly 800 - 1,000 inhabitants, he can only count 10 adult people - mostly women, whom he regards to be good and devoted Christians. The rest of his converts, numbering over 70, are nominal Catholic Christians: most were converted at Catholic schools but became inactive on leaving these schools. It must be noted that the first Catholic school in Sekute's chiefdom was established in 1937 in this very neighbourhood.

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1. Ibid. pp. 111- 112

CC missionaries, too, have noted the above development in their church with dismay, as Shewmaker points out:

"school" and "church" have come to mean the same in the minds of the people. It is easy to see why this misconception developed, because school was taught five days a week in the school building, and then on Sunday the same building was used for church services. The illiterate adult men did not understand what either the school or the church was, and therefore assumed that they must be the same.<sup>1</sup>

Misconception on the part of the Africans notwithstanding, there was a tendency on the part of certain missionaries to commit the same error. The PMS missionaries at Shungu, for instance would not admit illiterate Africans for baptism, unless under special circumstances. This practice had the effect of cutting off from the church the majority of Africans, especially in the rural areas, who saw Christianity and the classroom as being inextricably bound up together. Thus, today at Shungu, both the CC and the RCC draw their membership from the educated Toka-Leya, while those with little or no education tend to join the independent churches, such as the Watch Tower (Jehovah's Witnesses); the African Methodist Episcopal Church; the New Apostolic Church, etc. This latter point will be examined in great detail in a later Chapter.

The missionaries in Northern Rhodesia had always reserved their right to criticize Government policies. This much was set out as a cardinal principle at the General Missionary Conference of North-Western Rhodesia in 1914. In a policy speech, the President of the Conference, E.W. Smith, pointed out that

They, as a Conference, desired to co-operate with the Government. They would not hesitate, as they had not hesitated

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. op. cit.p.82.

in the past, to point out abuses.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the creation of expensive projects by the missionaries, such as the construction and maintenance of schools and other institutional buildings and the financing of staff salaries placed a heavy financial burden upon the sponsoring societies, with the result that the missionaries were left with no alternative but to seek State aid. As early as 1908, L.Jalla of the PMS had urged his fellow missionaries to consider this alternative with the justification that the Government was exploiting Africans, anyway, through taxation, and that this was happening in Southern Rhodesia:

Has not time come to ask the Government for a grant for our school? It would only be normal to get this Government to achieve something positive for this people, whom they tax, without, so far, giving them any compensation for this new kind of servitude.<sup>2</sup>

Yet, as every missionary understood only too well, State aid would come with strings attached and this would limit the extent to which missionaries could exercise jurisdiction, religious or secular, over the institutions for which the aid was granted, and it would also make them less critical of Government policy on pain of losing aid. Thus, after 1925 when a Government Department of African education was created, all graded teachers (i.e. those teachers who were any good at all) in mission schools became salaried by the Government. This had a secularizing effect that the missionaries had feared before. Teachers were employed for their efficiency and academic training, rather than for their religious zeal, to teach in mission schools. Because they understood the weak

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1. Chairman's policy speech. General Missionary Conference of North-Western Rhodesia. See Log Book of St. Andrew's Church, Livingstone Vol. 1 May 1910 - November, 1946.
  2. Jalla, L. Report on the station of Livingstone 1907/08.



position of the missionaries, they changed jobs at will and sometimes crippled the work of mission schools. This was particularly the case with the PMS at Shungu which suffered severely from a constant loss of certified teachers. But even more serious, from the point of view of the missionaries, was the fact that these teachers considered themselves above the religious jurisdiction of the missionaries and were resented by the latter as a bad moral influence upon the pupils as well as the communities in which these schools were located. The CC was compelled, on this account, to give up 19 of its 23 schools in 1965. As Shewmaker explains:

As the school system grew and educational standards became more rigid, the Mission discovered that it was becoming almost impossible to place dedicated Christian teachers in every school. Some were immoral and aroused resentment among the village inhabitants toward themselves and the Mission. Because teachers' salaries were by that time being paid by the Government, it was difficult for the Mission to take effective disciplinary action. Relations between missionaries and national teachers became strained and it was quite apparent that the village primary schools were developing into more of a liability than an asset.<sup>1</sup>

A further point to be considered with regard to the missionary strategies was the extent to which the missionaries succeeded in Christianizing the Toka-Leya through schools, clinics and orphanages. It is clear that both the CC and RCC 'converted' the greater proportion of their enrolled school pupils by the time they left school.<sup>2</sup> Thus with regard to the CC, we are told in 1968 that

Almost 100 percent of the student who attend the mission schools become Christians before

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1. Shewmaker, Stan, 1970. Op. cit. pp. 55 - 56.

2. Paradoxically, PMS records show no evidence of school conversions although they show that only literate people could be admitted to baptism at the Livingstone station.



graduation, whether it be on the primary or the secondary level, and this has been true for at least twenty-five years.<sup>1</sup>

A Catholic priest in charge of a rural parish at Shungu stated nearly the same thing. Yet school baptisms have been seen as illusory by some missionaries, and have been criticized as a distraction to proper evangelistic work. As early as 1934, the missionary Roulet had drawn his fellow-missionaries' attention to this problem:

Straight away, there is a question: is this the real purpose of our missionary work? I do not want to enlarge upon this question now because I hope that this will be the subject of a serious discussion at our Conference. It seems to me that it will be interesting to find out what the result of our schools is, from the religious point of view. Certainly Bible study has a place in our schools, but that is not all, for the other fields of study gain preponderance and in my opinion overshadow what is our reason for being in mission work.<sup>2</sup>

A CC missionary estimated that the reversion rate among school converts was 84 per cent.<sup>3</sup> Other missionaries of the church have argued that "the strongest leaders in the churches had been converted as adults and not as school children in 'our' schools."<sup>4</sup> And the priest in charge of Makunka Parish was of the view that the schools approach in his parish had not been successful for a number of reasons. Firstly, he said, because Catholic schools had only offered a lower primary education, there was a tendency for the children, on completion, to drift away to some other remote schools, preferably in the urban areas. Unless they moved on to Catholic schools, they soon lost touch and interest in the Catholic Church. Secondly, he said, the residential instability of the younger generation

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1. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. op. cit. p. 90.

2. Roulet, J. Report on the Station of Livingstone 1933/34

3. Shewmaker, Stan, 1970. op. cit. p. 90.

4. Ibid. p. 112.

in the rural areas in general made it impossible for the growth of a strong Christian community. Young people often went away to the town and cities to secure themselves employment and invariably left a void behind. Thirdly, he explained that the Church's past policy of ignoring the older generation in Christian instruction was in great error in that this is also the most stable generation, residentially, and might have constituted the basis of Christian communities - if attention had been paid to it earlier.

Clearly, the pupils in mission schools found it expedient to be converted in order to make their periods of instruction as comfortable as possible. When they left school they no longer felt obliged to continue to associate themselves actively with the missionaries or the church. Many informants who claimed to be baptized Christians, when asked how often they went to Church services, stated that they had stopped doing that on leaving school many year ago.

By introducing Western education to the Africans, and teaching secular subjects in the schools, the missionaries were succeeding not so much in indoctrinating Africans with Christian ideals but in promoting a kind of materialism they felt was the new scourge of the African. I have already cited statements by PMS missionaries deprecating the development of a materialistic spirit among Africans. The trend has been called "corrupting" and an evil effect of Western civilization. The PMS has not been alone in condemning this. A CC missionary, for instance, has said:

The desire for material wealth and the acquisition of things is nowhere so distinctly observed as in the towns. Earning the necessary cash to purchase cars, radios, record players, furniture, and liquor preoccupies the thoughts and actions of most city dwellers. Accompanying this rapidly

rising standard of living and the tide of materialism is the sharp increase of promiscuity and drunkenness.<sup>1</sup>

Yet in providing basic education and technical skills that enhanced the earning capacity of the Africans, the missionaries were only promoting the very social trend they were fighting to contain. Cleraly, the missionaries were acting in a contradictory manner.

Finally, I want to discuss one major effect of the missionary attempt to missionize the Toka-Leya through popular but secular institutions. Attempts by each missionary group to gain spheres of influence in which they could carry out their missionizing experiments were accompanied by inter-denominational rivalry that, in turn, had further implications among the Toka-Leya.

The missionaries essentially presented Christianity to the Toka-Leya as a unity, emphasizing the belief in God and Jesus Christ. They presented Christians as a body of believers, separate from the 'pagans' or 'heathens'. They contrasted this with ancestor worship which they saw as a fragmentary system of beliefs and practices, whose body of followers was equally disparate, so that families, lineages, and clans each had their own gods. Yet the appearance at Shungu of several Christian bodies, each claiming to be, and acting as, a true representative of Christianity and the true propagator of the Christian faith was viewed by the Toka-Leya with puzzlement. As one village headman put it: "They tell us we pray to many gods and that it is wrong to do so. But why do they have so many different churches if they really pray to one God only?"

Today, Shungu is divided into four missionary spheres

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1. Ibid. p. 43.

of influence, coinciding with political divisions. But African independent churches cut across these divisions. The Musokotwane chiefdom is mainly dominated by the CC; The Sekute chiefdom is an RCC sphere of influence; the Mukuni chiefdom is a contested area between the CC and the RCC, and the fourth, the town of Livingstone and its periphery<sup>1</sup> is also 'no man's land,' being contested by the CC, RCC, the Anglicans, Seventh Day Adventists, the United Church of Zambia and the African independent churches.

I have shown in Chapter 8 that the various missionary groups at Shungu were able to exert considerable influence upon the Toka-Leya on account of the secular services which they were able to provide. In other words, they won their acceptance among the various communities by the quantity and quality of secular services they could provide in comparison to those provided by rival missions. The ethical implications of these strategies for the missionaries were immense. In this the final part of this Chapter, I will attempt to describe the relations existing between the various missionary groups on the one hand, and the missionary groups and the Africans on the other, with regard to the operation of the missionary strategies, leading up to the present structure of spheres of influence.

The PMS, as the first missionary group to set up a mission station at Shungu, claimed pastoral jurisdiction over the Toka-Leya as well as the African population of the town of Livingstone. But later the setting up of schools by the UMCA, CC, RCC and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Livingstone or in the rural areas set off an intense inter-denominational rivalry that has continued up to the present day among the surviving missions.

(a) The rural arena

The first major challenge to PMS pastoral jurisdiction

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1. It must be remembered that Livingstone is composed of many different ethnic groups and the Toka-Leya form only a small fraction of the population.



among the Toka-Leya was offered by the CC which, in 1923, established a mission school at Sinde, only a few miles away from the PMS annexe of Siakasipa. Two other CC schools were established around the PMS annexe, and this had the effect of not only isolating the annexe from its parent mission in Livingstone, but also of drawing away the pupils. CC schools, on the whole, were better staffed and equipped than those of the PMS. The latter was facing a financial crisis which characterised its entire life on the Zambezi, so that the missionaries were able to keep the schools going only with great difficulty. But schools had a symbolic significance, for as I have already pointed out, it was an unwritten rule that the missionary group which provided the most schools in an area became also the religious benefactor of the communities in that area. To this extent, the PMS was prepared to endure the difficulties of maintaining rural schools, if only to keep out the CC. Thus, the Siakasipa Annexe might have been abandoned long before 1947, but for this very reason. As the missionary, Roulet pointed out:

We would have closed it long ago, but we want to keep the place which would, once abandoned, go the Sinde Mission, otherwise called Church of Christ Mission.<sup>1</sup>

And with regard to the Falls station, Coisson had recommended, in his 1901-02 Annual report:

I did not think it wise to abandon the Falls station at the moment. ... because if we go, the Jesuit fathers or the Anglican Church, which is just as bad, would not be long in taking over the place which would in more ways than one, harm our work in general.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Roulet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone 1933/34  
PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. Coisson, A. Report on the station of Mosi-Oa-Thunya  
1901/02. PMS. Records. Livingstone Museum.



The Catholic missionaries entered the rural arena in 1937 and helped to intensify the rivalry that had hitherto been confined to the PMS and the CC. A serious consequence of this rivalry was that each missionary group became less concerned, once established in an area, in providing good and efficient services, than in being in an area for the sake of being there. Thus one group would try to supplant another, by promising the local chief in an area with better schools and teachers and, if successful, would fall back on its word the moment it established itself. This is clearly illustrated in Roulet's annual report for 1932/33:

I think I told you that the Government, getting tired of the way the Church of Christ Mission ran the school at Mokuni (8 miles from here), had asked if I would do something about it. I said 'yes', on condition that an annual grant of £50 would be guaranteed. As you know, the Government has many pre-occupations and could not act, and besides, the missionary of Sinde, Mr. Reese, getting wind of the possibilities, suddenly started getting things in order at Mukuni.<sup>1</sup> (my emphasis).

A few years later when the missionary in charge at Sinde abandoned the station temporarily, probably because of lack of financial support for his work brought about by the temporary stoppage in the flow of funds from his supporters in America as a result of the depression, the PMS took heart and saw in this an opportunity to regain its lost field. Wrote Roulet:

We would like to open a school in Mosokotwane Village and even at Mukuni's where the Church of Christ Mission had some schools. The Missionary-in-charge left a year ago and does not seem in a hurry to return.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report. 1932/33. PMS Records Livingstone Museum.
  2. Roulet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone. 1937/38 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

But the financial position of the Paris Committee was, after all, so precarious that permission to carry out such an ambitious project was not granted.

The Africans themselves sometimes saw through missionary tactics and complained of the inefficient or bad educational services. Thus, in a report to the District Commissioner, Livingstone, dated 19th October, 1954, Chief Mukuni complained that both the CC and RCC had neglected some of their school buildings. And Chief Sekute said thus of the failure of the PMS to establish schools along the Zambezi in his chiefdom:

I remember that in 1918 Roulet wanted to build a school at Simonga. But there were only a few children there. Worse still, he placed in the school a Suto teacher who was always unwell. So Roulet closed the school down and established another at Imusho's village. He closed it down for no apparent reason after only a short time. We realised that this missionary was useless. He was doing nothing at all, and the children were learning nothing. People began to complain that Roulet was just rushing around, building schools but not keeping them going long enough for the children to learn. Then he asked us to send our children to Livingstone. But how could we? Who then would look after our fields?

The Africans realising the nature of the rivalry between the various missionary societies sought to exploit the situation by playing one against the other, in the hope of getting the best from both worlds. In the Ngwezi area, for instance, the villagers connived with missionaries of both societies for a school, without letting them know about their double dealings. So satisfied was the PMS missionary on being first approached by the Ngwezi inhabitants that he wrote:

Many of the villages along the banks of the Ngwezi want their children to be taught and the Church of Christ asks nothing better than to establish schools there, but the chief of

the district prefers that our mission shall answer to the request.<sup>1</sup>

As it turned out a few years later, the CC and not the PMS, succeeded in running a school in the Ngwezi area. The CC had the resources; the PMS did not, as Roulet discovered to his own dismay. "The school we were proposing to start at Ngwezi," he wrote "has come to nothing as the state of our finances was not good enough"<sup>2</sup>. In point of fact, the villagers' game had paid off. It might have, taken them longer to have a school in their area otherwise.

The playing off of one missionary group against the other by the Toka-Leya became widespread. Its repetition in the Mukuni area, however, had the unfortunate consequence of landing the contestants - the CC missionaries and the Catholics - before the Government Education Officer in Livingstone. Each party was so convinced of its own popularity in the area that no mutual agreement could be reached.

In the heavily contested areas, the missionaries spared no effort in seeking the intervention of other forces to help them set up schools or gain control over the already established schools. Thus the Tonga-oriented CC was able to dislodge the PMS, which was prone to teaching in Lozi, from the north-western corner of Shungu simply by appealing to ethnic sentiments. Thus, about the closure of the PMS school of Katwamanzila, the missionary, Roulet complained in 1928:

the young man who succeeded his father [as Village Headman] there was a follower of the Church of Christ (Short), and created difficulties by stopping children from going to school. Soon we gave up the place to him and this young fool

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1. Roulet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone 1930/31 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1931/32 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

has since had reason to regret his attitude for his villagers have scattered in such a way that a school at Katwamanzila is no longer necessary.<sup>1</sup>

It became standard practice for Toka-Leya supporters of the CC to boycott institutions run by the rival PMS and the Catholics. In August, 1940, for instance, a preacher of the CC in the Mukuni area aroused Government concern by stopping CC supporters in his village from sending their children to a near-by Catholic school, but elected to teach them himself, despite the fact that he was not qualified to do so:

[Mutesa, the preacher] wanted a school in his village very much. He had asked for a teacher but none was available. So he and the rest of the villagers had decided to let him teach them what he could. Accordingly they built a small house and he got busy. As I remember they had around 50 attending. Mutesa was giving them Bible, reading and perhaps some arithmetic.

But that was the trouble. The District Officer got wind of the work. He immediately wanted to know "by what authority" Mutesa was running the school. He told him to close down. Their children could attend the Roman Catholic school. But Mutesa and the other Christians would not hear to that.<sup>2</sup>

The reporter of the above incident, a CC missionary, rushed to the aid of Mutesa by procuring the teaching papers from the Government Education Office. Mutesa, despite his lack of qualifications as a teacher, was not replaced by a better qualified person. This clearly illustrates not only that the CC missionaries were behind the boycott, but that they were less concerned about the educational standards in their school.

Not only was Government authority invoked by some missionary groups to stifle African objections to their

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1927 - 28. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. Brittell, O.D. 'A village trip', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 1 No. 9. March, 1946. pp. 3-4.



designs, but quite often one missionary group sought the assistance of Government Officials in order to gain an advantage over the others. One interesting case of this nature in 1939 related to the supervision of a newly created Government school at Chief Musokotwane's village. The question of supervision was referred to the then District Commissioner, who was pro-Catholic. Seizing this opportunity, the Catholic Bishop of the Livingstone Diocese claimed the sole right of his mission to supervise the school. This sparked off opposition from the other denominations, which wanted a non-denominational white teacher, rather/<sup>than</sup> a missionary to be placed in charge, as Roulet explained in his 1939 report:

Our District Commissioner at Livingstone, Mr. Denny, the old editor of the paper 'Mutende', is anxious to see many schools in his District. To this end he convened a meeting last April [1939] attended by representatives of the three missions working in the District and two ladies from the Women's Institute. The Government's idea is to establish a central school at Musokotwane (20 miles from Livingstone) which will be a Government school ... But the majority of those present wanted there to be a European teacher in charge of this school. We were in favour of this proposition because we clearly felt that the attitude of Monseigneur Flynn was to do everything to dislodge us.<sup>1</sup>

Just as schools were used by the missionaries to gain entry into rural areas, so in general were hospitals and clinics. The establishment by the Catholics of a 25 bed hospital and 5 under-five clinics at Makunka<sup>2</sup> is clearly designed to draw support from the people in the surrounding area which had, until 1961, been under the influence of the CC. There is no doubt that the effect of the hospital and clinics, supported by the activities of the resident priest, have paid dividends there. In

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1939. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

2. Report on survey. Diocese of Livingstone. Zambia. July - August, 1974. p. 11.



1976, for instance, of a Christian population of 430 in the Makunka neighbourhood (see Table 5. and Map 6), there were 211 (or 49.07%) Catholics and only 22 (or 5.12%) were CC. Undoubtedly, the majority of the Catholics are only nominal Christians, as the priest in charge admits. This only goes to show that, like the schools which turned out a high number of converts for reasons other than religious, hospitals and clinics are working in the same direction.

(b) The urban sphere

The inter-denominational rivalry that characterized the work of the missionaries in rural Shungu was also reflected in the town of Livingstone. Here, apart from the missionary groups competing against each other, they had to face up to challenges from other Christian churches as well, particularly the African independent churches. Here, the nature of rivalry differed slightly from that in the rural areas, in that apart from using schools and other services to gain acceptance from the Africans, the competing churches also used direct evangelism to build up the church membership.

As in the rural areas, here too, the PMS claimed pastoral jurisdiction over the African population. But it was even more difficult for the PMS missionaries to keep out other missions and churches here for the major reason that Livingstone, as the capital of North-Western Rhodesia and later, Northern Rhodesia, from 1907 to 1935, was the centre of economic and political activity and, as such, attracted a wide range of social groups, some of which had religious commitments differing from those of the PMS. There were thus groups of Africans from the northern part of the colony and from East Africa who had been under the influence of the LMS, UMCA and Catholics, and others from the eastern part of the colony as well as from Nyasaland who had been under the South African General Missions as

MAKUNKA MISSION AND NEIGHBOURING COMMUNITIES

UNITY	POP.	R.C.	C.C.	OTHER CHRTN MISSIONARY DENMNS	INDPT. CHRTN CHURCH- ES	HEAL- ING SECTS*	ANCE- STRAL CULTS*	UNSPEC- IFIED CHRTNS
uma	31	6	0	0	2	0	23	0
ve	21	9	0	0	5	0	7	0
abo	18	4	0	0	0	0	14	0
adiya	60	8	0	0	4	1	47	0
ago	35	17	0	0	5	0	13	0
anda	31	17	0	0	0	1	13	0
ve	67	5	0	0	3	0	59	0
anga	38	2	5	0	0	0	31	0
olo	28	1	2	0	0	0	25	0
kubi	46	10	0	0	0	0	36	0
Kiti	39	0	0	0	39	0	0	0
ai (Ndanga ana)	114	0	0	0	0	1	90	23
lula	46	10	0	0	2	1	33	0
hi	19	11	0	0	0	0	8	0
ay								
ound	54	6	2	0	3	0	43	0
pu	49	7	0	0	0	0	42	0
on,								
ital, & thers'								
ound	49	38	0	4	0	0	7	0
anga	39	9	0	0	1	0	29	0
ve	60	16	5	0	4	0	35	0
adela	29	1	1	0	0	0	27	0
iku	39	0	0	0	22	0	17	0
itani	44	3	0	0	0	1	40	0
ni	32	0	0	0	6	0	26	0
a	113	6	1	0	2	0	104	0
anengo	44	0	4	0	1	0	39	0
ve	20	0	0	0	10	0	10	0
ai	28	6	0	5	0	0	17	0
	81	14	1	0	19	1	46	0
Mwele	45	3	0	0	4	0	38	0
alusya	33	0	1	0	32	0	0	0
cultural								
	9	2	0	1	0	0	6	0
inary								
	6	0	0	0	0	0	6	0
	1367	211	22	10	164	6	931	23
Total ation	100%	15.44%	1.61%	0.73%	12.00%	0.43%	68.11%	1.68%

NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS 430.

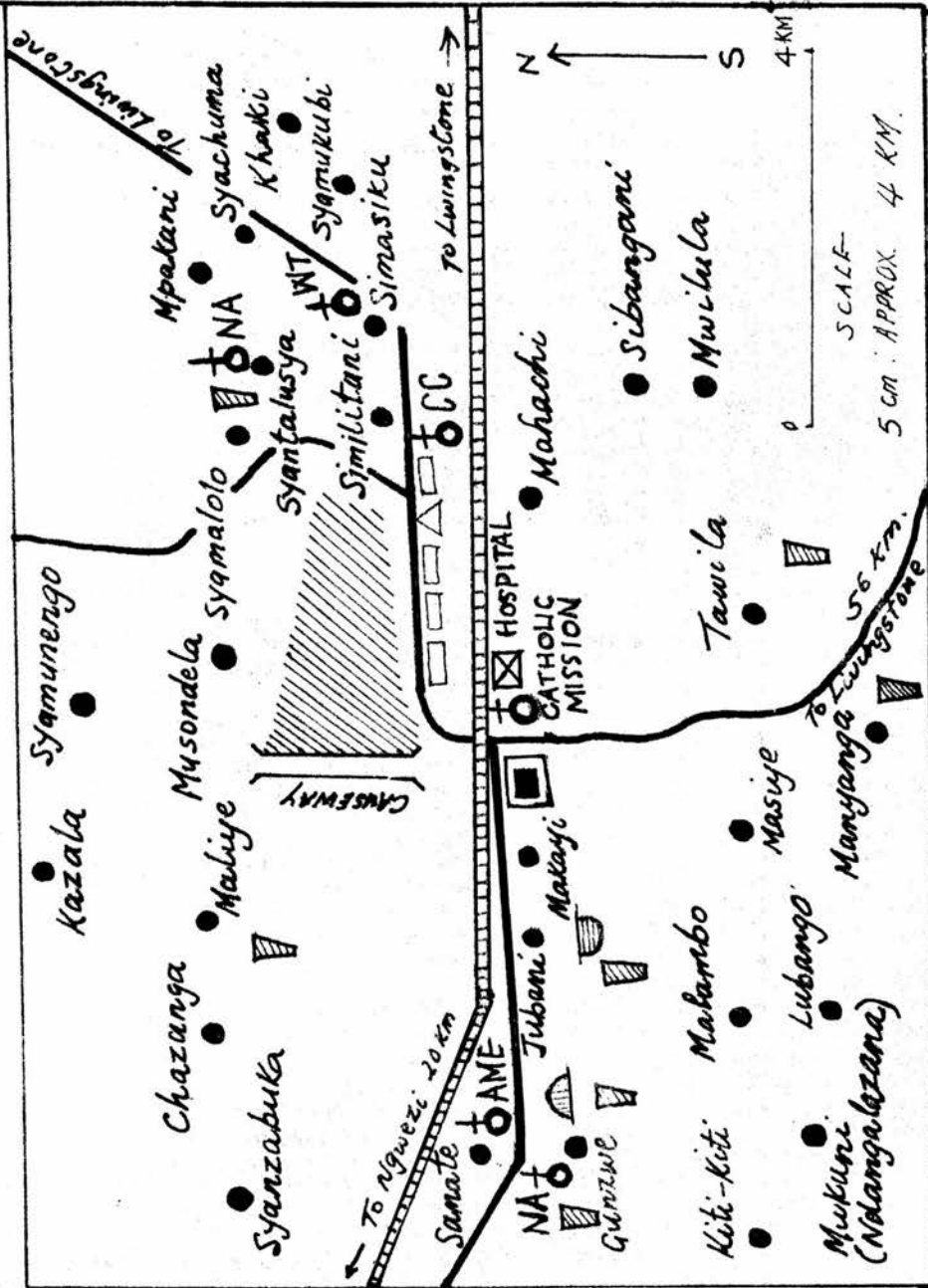
included in the total number of Christians.

TABLE 5

## LEGEND

- | Symbol | Feature                               |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
|        | ROAD                                  |
|        | RAILWAY                               |
|        | CHURCH                                |
|        | VILLAGE COMMUNITY                     |
|        | SCHOOL                                |
|        | MISSION HOSPITAL                      |
|        | RAILWAY COMPOUND                      |
|        | DRILLED WELL                          |
|        | SHOPS AND BARS                        |
|        | DAM                                   |
|        | AGRICULTURAL CAMP                     |
|        | VETERINARY CAMP                       |
| AME    | AFRICAN METHODIST<br>EPISCOPAL CHURCH |
| CC     | CHURCH OF CHRIST                      |
| NA     | NEW APOSTOLIC CHURCH                  |
| WT     | WATCH TOWER                           |

CATHOLIC MISSION  
OF  
MAKUNKA  
AND NEIGHBOURHOOD



well as the Scottish Presbyterian Mission.<sup>1</sup>

The early days of the town were marked by rivalry between the PMS and the UMCA for supremacy. The latter had had a significant re-inforcement in the person of Bishop J.E. Hines, who had been appointed its representative as well as Bishop of the Anglican Church in Northern Rhodesia in 1910. By virtue of his association with the Church of England, he became Bishop of Northern Rhodesia as well - a position that gave him considerable scope for manoeuvre in missionary work. At the 1914 General Missionary Conference held in Livingstone, Hines had made it plain to all the missionary societies that as Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, he could literally interfere in other missionary groups' spheres of influence, if he deemed this necessary. In a lengthy written statement, the Bishop had declared:

It is certainly desirable that different missionary societies shall confine their operations to definite districts, this as much for the sake of our natives as for our reasons. But as Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, so appointed not by self-ordination but by the King's Mandate, the Bishop cannot restrict himself to any limited region. He has episcopal jurisdiction over the whole country. The Bishop, however, does not interfere with, or intrude into, districts already occupied by other missionary societies scattered about the country, unless he has some special call or strong reason for doing so as a matter of duty. But the Bishop of Northern Rhodesia is not only the head of one particular missionary society, he is Bishop of the whole country. He cannot bind himself not to occupy any site or district in Northern Rhodesia though practically he would not do so without agreement with any other missionary society which might be in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

Although the UMCA found it impossible to start missionary work in rural Shungu because of PMS resistance,

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1. The PMS continued to exercise pastoral jurisdiction upon members of these missions until 1944.

2. See Log Book of St. Andrew's Church, Livingstone. Vol.1



Bishop Hine would not be deterred from doing so in Livingstone and had, in fact, began practising his principles soon after his arrival in Livingstone in 1910, to the dismay of the PMS Missionary in charge who sadly recorded in his report of that year:

On June 5th [1910], I attended the laying of the first stone of the Anglican Church in town. The first Bishop of North-Western Rhodesia presided at the ceremony and opened the taking over of this field of work by the Universities Mission, deliberately ignoring everything which has been done so far by our Society and by others for the welfare of the natives. If we relax our effort, will all the more ground be lost for us.<sup>1</sup>

Time and again, the PMS sought written assurance from successive Anglican Bishops that they would not enter PMS fields, especially rural ones.<sup>2</sup> But in Livingstone, the UMCA sought to counter PMS influence by establishing its own primary schools for Africans. The PMS educational system had two major weaknesses which the UMCA immediately discovered. First, the PMS school in 1911 stood some 2 kilometres away from the African Compound and many pupils were found to have stopped attending school on account of the distance involved in getting there. The UMCA built a school right in the African Compound and immediately attracted large numbers of pupils from there.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the PMS had used Suto and Lozi as media of instruction in its schools in accordance with the missionary policy of teaching indigenous languages to Africans to enable them to read and understand the Bible in local languages. The UMCA realised that the greatest aspiration of urban Africans was to learn to speak English

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1. Jalla, L. Livingstone Report, 1910. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

2. Such an assurance was sought in 1919 by Adolphe Jalla, President of the Ex-Officio Executive Committee of the Zambezi Mission from Bishop Alston May. Letter on File: Other missions. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

3. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1911. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.



and be able to secure themselves better jobs later as interpreters, clerks or as domestic servants. Moreover, there was a large proportion of Africans in the town who came from the northern part of the country and from Nyasaland, and who had no particular wish to learn Suto which was too foreign to them. Accordingly, the UMCA school taught English and the result was nearly catastrophic for the PMS, but for the concessions made by the UMCA on realising the plight of the latter. Wrote the PMS missionary in charge:

Before we even had time to worry, we had a visit from the Rev. Webster and the teacher who informed us that they had no intention whatsoever of encroaching on our work ... So we suggested to them that they should leave us the pupils from Barotse, whilst they would teach those from Bashikulumbwe (Namwala) and Nyasaland. This decision brought back to us about 20 deserters.<sup>1</sup>

In the above situation we may clearly see the effect of inter-denominational rivalry upon not only the rival missionary societies but upon mission work itself. Furthermore, we may see in this the part played by the Africans themselves in shaping missionary policy by pursuing their own interests. The UMCA missionaries were prepared to depart from the normal missionary principle of teaching in local languages in order to both counter PMS influence as well as to satisfy the wishes of their African pupils.

If the UMCA proved a formidable opponent for PMS mission work in Livingstone, there was worse to come. The Catholics who had attempted in vain to enter Shungu earlier on, and the S.D.A.<sup>2</sup> which had hitherto been consolidating its work in the area of the Tonga proper

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1. Ibid.

2. S.D.A.: Seventh Day Adventist Church.

to the far north, now both applied to Government for permission to start work in Livingstone. PMS reaction was, at first, one of despair:

Government itself realises our powerlessness to do more and that is why they have recently granted some grounds to the Salvationists and the Catholics who will soon start work here.<sup>1</sup>

But having accepted the basic fact that inter-denominational rivalry in the town would be the order of the day, the PMS missionary in charge even displayed the spirit of chivalry:

Just recently, the missionary of Sinde Mission (Church of Christ) has obtained from the Municipality a piece of ground in the compound where they intend to build a Chapel to gather their members working in town. We have also heard that a Mr. Joseph from the Adventists was going to settle down in town, too. When we also have the Salvationists and the Catholics, there will then be plenty of competition and it is good that we possess two church buildings, which will show what we are!<sup>2</sup>

But the rivalry did not end at the missionary societies alone. Ethiopianism, which had hitherto been confined to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, spread to Northern Rhodesia and was particularly strong after 1917. The Watch Tower (Jehovah's Witnesses), African Apostolic Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in particular, took root in Livingstone, the Capital of Northern Rhodesia. The PMS first greeted their appearance enthusiastically:

There are about 30 Watch Tower Christians who sing beautifully. They are so pleased to see

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1927/28. PMS Records Livingstone Museum.
  2. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1928/29. PMS Records Livingstone Museum.

us taking some interest in them.<sup>1</sup>

But disillusionment soon set in, when the Witnesses began gathering widespread support in the town, especially in the African compound. The PMS began to urge Government action against the Sect:

We gather every Sunday 50 to 100 people to talk to about the Saviour. It is in the compound also that the Watch Tower sect has flourished. Fortunately - apart from a few of them - the Marotse have kept away from it. Mostly Mawemba were baptized in large number by the leader who came from Bulawayo. No less than 300 baptisms took place in a week in the Maramba [stream] - which for that occasion took the name of Jordan! Government so far has left them alone, thinking that freedom is better than oppression, but we fear that before long it will have to interfere ... [They] live like parasites on the stupidity of the new converts who have to support them - Besides, they don't mind preaching that one should not work for the whites, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Government did indeed show some concern after a number of deaths, arising from the activities of the Watch Tower, were investigated. In a letter dated 11th December, 1926, E.S.B. Tagart, Secretary for Native Affairs, advised all missionary societies to take precautions against the sect:

It is not at present proposed to alter the policy already indicated in regard to "Watch Tower" activities, but in view of the recent atrocities attributed to self-styled members of the society, and the repudiation by the manager [of the society in Cape Town] of any natives in this Territory who may represent themselves to be members, I request that you will take every opportunity of conveying warnings to responsible Chiefs and

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1919/20 PMS Record, Livingstone Museum.
  2. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1923/24. PMS Records, Livingstone Museum.



Headmen in your District of the risks to which they may expose themselves and their people by giving any encouragement whatever to those who profess to have authority as Pastors or leaders of this sect.<sup>1</sup>

Ironically, it was the PMS missionary in charge at Livingstone who was to minister unto the Watch Tower leaders condemned to death in 1926 for the alleged atrocities.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the Watch Tower, the African Apostolic Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church were relatively tolerated by the Administration and even permitted to start their own schools in the town. About the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Provincial Commissioner, Southern Province said this is his 1937 Annual Report:

The African Methodist Episcopal Church is here mentioned, not because of any tendencies towards subversive or seditious doctrines, but because it appears to be a counteragent to anti-social movements ... Much of its doctrine must be incomprehensible to its disciples, but its popularity lies, probably in that it is an African Church founded by Africans ... As far as can be ascertained, they refrain altogether from political argument and confine themselves to their own interpretation of the Gospel ... The licensees appear to be law-abiding, respectful and devout persons.<sup>3</sup>

Both the African Apostolic Church and the African Methodist Episcopal Church were particularly active after 1930 and the PMS found itself losing its following to them, in both the school and religious fields. No doubt, this was partly because the independent churches were seen

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1. Circular letter by E.S.B. Tagart, to all the heads of recognized missionary societies in Northern Rhodesia. Dated Livingstone, 11th December, 1926. (File: British Administration. PMS. Records. Livingstone Museum.)
  2. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1926 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  3. Native affairs Annual Report. 1937. p. 38

as African institutions serving African interests, whereas Africans may have had mixed feelings about the PMS.

Perhaps more than anything else, the tactics of the independent churches presented a bigger threat to PMS survival:

We fear difficulties in the future because these people are suddenly very aggressive and go from hut to hut looking for converts. When they meet blacks who come to our churches they are not afraid to tell them that the PMS does not teach the truth; that they should join them, be baptized and receive the Holy Spirit the day after joining.<sup>1</sup>

A PMS missionary who had come to Livingstone to relieve Roulet found the situation intolerable and could only show his contempt for the independent churches. He wrote:

The Malozi ... have started their own, the Apostolic Church, which is flourishing, and it is piteous in its stupid faith in the Spirit which shows itself in the adherents in contortions and shrieks worthy of the Devil!<sup>2</sup>

In the meantime, the Capuchin Fathers had entered the field and their first move was to build their dwelling house close to the PMS station, presumably in order to watch the latter's steps. The PMS missionary was evidently deeply worried as he himself put it:

While we are speaking of [N.A.] incidents, let us mention the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers who at the moment are building a dwelling house for the priest 250 metres from our

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1. Roulet J. Livingstone Report. 1930/31 PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. Forget, R. Notes of taking over the station of Livingstone 27 June, 1935. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.



station ... Up to now it seems that these happenings are strenthening our church, but God alone knows what the future will be.<sup>1</sup>

The new PMS missionary in 1935 clearly saw a greater threat in the Catholics: He wrote:

It seems to me that this state [of our work] can be fairly well shown by the fact that the Catholics, who have been here for only three or four years, have already overtaken us in many fields.<sup>2</sup>

He attacked his predecessor for his church's inability to dominate the religious field:

You would say, 'it is a question of money'. No! Because in the many years during which the work at Livingstone has been going on there has been enough money forthcoming to do what is now to be done. I will not say what that should be. I do not know the reasons for the present stationary state of the work, nor the difficulties encountered by those charged with the work.<sup>3</sup>

In a particularly perceptive mood, the new missionary revealed the ultimate motives of the Capuchin Fathers in Livingstone. He saw their presence in Livingstone as being preparatory to an eventual onslaught on the coveted PMS field of Barotseland:

... there are at least 3,500 to 4,000 Malozi [in Livingstone] totally untouched by the Paris Mission, among whom the Catholics are starting a superb work. Now these Malozi are essentially a nomadic people, who usually come to Livingstone for a few years, then go back to Bulozhi with a beautiful medal of the Virgin on their necks, and wait there patiently, away from our influence, until a new church is built to continue their

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1930/31 PMS Records Livingstone Museum.
  2. Forget, R. op. cit.
  3. Ibid.

Romanisation. Let there be another dozen years of this and half the Bulozzi will be ready to greet the triumphant entry of the Catholics into Bulozzi. Perhaps they will not have to wait so long!<sup>1</sup>

They certainly did enter Barotseland soon after, and today the Catholics dominate the whole of Western Province (formerly Barotseland). Interestingly, a Catholic missionary at Shungu told me that his mission used Livingstone as a 'springboard' for the Barotse field, and that the town was chosen as the headquarters for its strategic importance as a communications centre as well as for its political importance then. Today, this may explain why it took the Catholics nearly 30 years before they finally established a mission station in rural Shungu. Clearly the latter was of no real interest to the Catholics except where the question of other missions operating in the area arose. Thus the schools.

The CC did not take much interest in Livingstone itself, until about 1946 when the church's first school was opened there. This was followed by the formation of CC congregations consisting almost entirely of Toka-Leya and a few Tonga. To this extent, the church did not present problems to the PMS which had by then resigned itself to evangelizing the Lozi community of Livingstone. It certainly did bother the Catholics who were to some extent interested in the Toka-Leya.

Today, there are in Livingstone three CC congregations, almost 50% of whom are Toka-Leya, the rest consisting of members of churches such as Christian Missions in Many Lands (CMMML) and Brethren in Christ who do not have churches of their own in the town but whose belief structure is similar to that of the CC. These are mainly Lunda-Luvale and Tonga.

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1. Ibid.

Within the missionary societies themselves, therefore, the PMS, the RCC and the UMCA remained the main rival parties for the religious domination of Livingstone. But with the opening of mission stations at Mapanza (in Tonga country) and in the eastern part of the territory, the UMCA gradually withdrew from Livingstone leaving the PMS and the RCC to carry on the competition. After 1946, the PMS was joined by the CC. The PMS missionary-in-charge of the station of Livingstone was prompted to remark in 1952 that inter-denominational rivalry had become the town's main attraction.<sup>1</sup>

As already pointed out, the Catholics' main weapon was the schools. Beginning from lower primary schools they set up upper primary schools and, later, secondary schools. They built the first girls' secondary school in 1956 and a boys secondary school about 1970. This meant that graduates of PMS (and, indeed, CC) primary schools were tempted to enter the Catholic secondary schools of St. Raphael's (Livingstone), St. Canisius (in Tongaland to the north) or St. Mary's (Livingstone), or else undertake long journeys to seek a suitable secondary school education elsewhere. It was not until after 1968 that the CC established a secondary school at Kalomo.

At the lower primary school level, the Catholics countered PMS efforts to secure high enrolments by offering material incentives. In 1937-38, the number of pupils attending the PMS Coillard Memorial School dropped from 65 to about 12, in the words of the missionary in charge, "due to the enormous draw of the Capuchin Fathers who do not charge any fees and give uniforms to their scholars who wear them to go to services on Sundays. They are taken into their big church near to our station. So it is not surprising that many children go where so many

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1. Report on the station of Livingstone, 1952. (Author not mentioned) PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

advantages are given them".<sup>1</sup>

Since the early days of their Mosi-Oa-Thunya station, the PMS missionaries had been ministering to the prisoners at the Livingstone Prison and to the patients at the African hospital and had managed to win converts through these institutions, especially in the former, where as many as 230 to 250 attended church services on Sundays. When they got wind of this, the Catholics were quick to counter this by doing the same in both places. As the PMS missionary observed in his 1932-33 Annual Report:

The services at the prison are not followed by all the prisoners as in the past since the Catholics have also invaded the place. They even dare to go before me by 10 or 15 minutes each Sunday, but I believe that our hymns sung loudly by those who come to us have finally dislodged them because they have not appeared for 2 months. Naturally the prisoners who received medals with pictures of the Virgin or strings of beads from the 'cure' stay to one side (about 50).<sup>2</sup>

The above two examples again go to show the extent to which the missionaries were prepared to sacrifice their religious principles to try and interest people in their own denominational churches.

In this Chapter, I have been concerned to show the implications of the use by the missionaries of 'secular aspects of Western culture' to interest the Toka-Leya, and the rest of the African population of Livingstone, in religious matters. I have shown that although Africans were indeed drawn to missionary institutions and converted in significant numbers, such conversions were, in the main, superficial, as most of the converts 'back-pedalled' soon

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1937/38. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.

2. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1932/33. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.



after availing themselves of the services offered by the missionaries. I have also shown that the establishment of schools, clinics, hospitals, etc., by the missionaries created administrative problems that tended to disillusion the younger missionaries who had come out to the field, expecting to devote their services to fulfilling the religious and spiritual needs of the Toka-Leya. Instead, they found themselves rooted to mission institutions where their duties became almost entirely administrative.

I have also shown the consequences of this new phase of missionary work upon the independence of missionary groups in relation to Government. I have shown that the more schools, clinics and hospitals the missionaries needed to establish, the more funds they needed to run them. Since the sponsoring missionary societies had limited resources to fulfil mission projects, the missionaries were obliged, against their own principles, to seek aid from Government. Government aid inevitably brought with it State censure of missionary activities in the institutions for which aid was granted. In particular, because qualified teachers became State-salaried, the missionary found themselves unable to control these teachers. In turn, the teachers felt free to disregard missionary jurisdiction over themselves, with the result that conflict arose. Furthermore, the missionaries, because of their reliance on Government aid, found themselves constrained to restrict their criticism of State policies affecting Africans.

I have shown further, that the emphasis placed upon institutional missionizing by the missionaries had the effect of misleading the older generations of Toka-Leya, for they took them at their face value. Thus as schools took in mostly young people, Christianity came to be associated with the young.

Yet another consequence of the use of educational



services by the missionaries to interest the Toka-Leya in religious matters was the promotion of materialism among Africans. The missionaries had condemned the rise of materialism among Africans and saw it as a pernicious effect of Western civilization. Yet by providing formal education and technical skills (which were themselves part and parcel of Western civilization), they were increasing the earning power of the Africans, thus also increasing their material needs. As one missionary discovered:

We would like to see the [African] Christians more zealous in the payment of their contributions. Here is an opportunity to say that the more our young men earn, the less they are ready to give ... When we ask the reasons for this, the inevitable answer is that with the increasing salaries, the needs are also greater. So what is found among the white population is also common among Africans.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, a serious consequence of the use of educational, medical and other services by the missionaries was the spirit of rivalry that arose among the Christian missionary groups. Inter-denominational rivalry had itself other effects both upon the missionary groups themselves and upon the mission people. The rivalry between the missionary organizations that all claimed to be Christian appeared contradictory in the eyes of the mission peoples. It certainly posed serious moral issues for the missionaries themselves, even if these were not readily recognized at the time. These moral issues were further accentuated by the use of 'unconventional' methods by the missionaries to gain entry to some spheres of the field. It was certainly a contradiction to religious principles when schools, medical services and gifts were offered to the mission peoples by the missionaries in order to gain admittance to their areas.

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1. Roulet, J. Livingstone Report 1925. PMS Records.  
Livingstone Museum.

## P A R T IV

### CHRISTIANITY AND THE TOKA-LEYA - AN INTERPRETATION

#### Introduction

From the foregoing Chapters, we have seen that Christianity as taught by the missionaries met with two kinds of reaction from the Toka-Leya. The majority, while clearly recognizing the essential message of the new religion, were unwilling to commit themselves fully on account of its implications upon the established social order. Missionary teaching threatened the very foundations of Toka-Leya society by urging the abandonment of ancestor worship, polygyny, beer-drinking, etc. Among those who wished to see these traditional institutions maintained were the chiefs, village headmen and other Toka-Leya dignitaries; in other words, the people with 'a stake in society.' They stood to lose from a change in the status quo. Yet we have also seen that some Toka-Leya embraced missionary Christianity, with all its cultural trappings. The most prominent in this category were people who had held marginal positions in traditional society and therefore had nothing to lose by the dismantling of the old order of society. The early evangelists of both the PMS and CC were drawn from this class of people. Yet again in recent years, with the growing trend of development in the established churches from 'mission' to 'national' church a strong and distinct (if slightly diminished in size, perhaps) cadre of African Christians has emerged which calls for sociological investigation. Again, as an alternative to missionary Christianity, but most certainly taking root and inspiration from it, a new form of Christianity has arisen, expressed through independent

churches as well as syncretic organizations.

In the following Chapters, I attempt to examine more closely the manner in which Christianity has been embraced by the Toka-Leya and its significance as a system of beliefs and practices upon individuals in the society, as well as upon the social structure. I also examine Christianity as a popular social movement, gaining support for ~~the~~ pageantry offered by the various Christian movements.

## CHAPTER 9

### THE EARLY EVANGELISTS AT SHUNGU

A meaningful understanding of the spread of Christianity among the Toka-Leya is not possible without an understanding of the role played by Peter Masiya, an evangelist of the CC. Masiya not only baptized some of the first prominent Toka-Leya evangelists, but provided the model which was to guide these and later evangelists.

Prior to his appearance at Shungu after 1910, the Toka-Leya had known Christianity only as a white man's religion and some feared on this account that it may have been part and parcel of the process by which their land and personal rights were being deprived them. Masiya entered Shungu preaching Christianity, and indeed speaking out against the old order of society. But he was a black man, bringing a new message to his fellow black men. Unlike the white missionaries, he spoke to them and not above them; lived among them and not away from them; he understood them and did not despise them.

Masiya appeared at a time when the missionaries of North-Western Rhodesia were in the process of organizing themselves as a united front through the missionary conferences. Because he was not 'one of them', he was not invited to join in the conferences. This must have confirmed the suspicions of the Toka-Leya about the intentions of the white missionaries. In this context, Masiya's Christianity must have appealed to them as the answer to missionary exclusiveness. It is significant that his coming to Shungu concided with the beginning of the decline of the little pastoral influence that the PMS had had in rural Shungu.

The success of Peter Masiya where others had fared so badly may be understood by examining the nature of his character as revealed through the little that is known about his own history. Missionary records offer only a sketchy history of Masiya. Fortunately, his chief convert, Kambole Masiya, has added some information that throws more light on him.

Peter Masiya introduced the Church of Christ about 1910 or 1912 among the Toka-Leya in particular, and in Northern Rhodesia as a whole. For nearly thirteen years, he was the force behind its support, administration and propagation. His country of origin has not been clearly ascertained. The American missionary, W.N. Short, who took over the running of the Church in 1923, states that Masiya "was of a Portuguese tribe, coming over into British territory, into Mashonaland, as a young man".<sup>1</sup> Kambole Mpatamatenga, who was to be associated with him from 1917 to 1923, confirms that Masiya came from "Portuguese East Africa".<sup>2</sup> But Stan Shewmaker says that he was a Nsenga from Nyasaland (Malawi).<sup>3</sup>

On entering Southern Rhodesia, Masiya worked for various whitemen, including Government officials, as a house servant. He was employed as such during the Matabele Rebellion of 1896. He eventually drifted towards Bulawayo where he was employed by John Sherriff as a watchman in his stoneyard. Sherriff was a New Zealander who had come out to Rhodesia as a prospector in the 1890's. He was an intensely religious man of the fundamentalist Church of Christ and it was his aim to take up missionary work eventually. Having failed as a

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1. Short, W.N. 'Peter Masiya', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 2. No. 3. September, 1946. p.5.
  2. Mpatamatenga, K. (n.d.) Kasimbo ambaenda'abo. Vol. 2. (PM. Livingstone Museum.).
  3. Shewmaker, Stan. 1970. Tonga Christianity. p. 49.



prospector, he turned to stone masonry, his old trade. He became prosperous enough that, in 1922, he sold out his business to devote his time to missionary work.<sup>1</sup> He had already undertaken a tour of New Zealand and the U.S.A. to raise missionaries for the work in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia.

During Masiya's time with Sherriff, the latter started night school to enable his workers to read the Bible. Masiya availed himself of this opportunity and developed such an interest in formal education that after three years of service with Sherriff, he went to Lovedale College in South Africa to round off his elementary education. This was around 1905. He returned after three years, this time to work as Sherriff's house servant. He was baptized in the CC in 1909 and, soon afterwards, requested permission from his employer to evangelize the people north of the Zambezi.

Thus he became a self-supporting itinerant preacher among the Toka-Leya. His first base was Mukuni Village, where he established a church and a small school. In 1917, he was joined by another preacher, Bulawayo Kukano, whose own mission, as we shall see later, was itself significant. Bulawayo Kukano, like Masiya, had been one of Sherriff's workers and pupils. Masiya left the Mukuni station under the care of Kukano and moved on to Mujala's village, where he again established a church and a school. It was here that the first American missionary of the CC, north of the Zambezi, found Masiya, "He had a fairly large church and school building put up," wrote Short, "and a good congregation meeting each Lord's Day".<sup>2</sup> Short renamed the church site, which was later to be included in a

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1. Loc. cit.

2. Short, W.N. 1946. op. cit. p.5.

1,000 acre farm, Sinde Mission, after the Sinde stream near which it was built.

Masiya died in 1924, after a short illness. He had married a local woman with whom he had raised a big family.

Masiya's personal history reveals some features that must have had a decisive influence upon his later life. He had left his home as a young man to seek employment from the new colonists who were moving north in search of minerals and land. He was therefore able to witness the force and impact of the new wave of white settlers as they seized large tracts of land and disrupted the traditional way of life of the Africans by sheer force of arms. He himself had worked for Europeans who had actually taken part in crushing the Matabele Rebellion of 1896 and witnessed the fall and subjugation of this powerful people which, only a few years before, had been the terror of East and Central Africa. It would thus be correct to suppose that these events had had a great impression upon Masiya's mind and led him to the conclusion that they would in time spread far and wide. Above all, he must have come to the conclusion that the only way the helpless Africans could cope with the new situation was not to try and fight the white man, but rather, to try to understand his ways, and the key to his power and riches. It was, perhaps, at this juncture that his incidental meeting with the missionary, Sherriff, and the latter's fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible must have been decisive. The universalistic appeal of the Gospels offered a wider and more satisfying explanation of the events he was witnessing than did the particularistic traditional religion. Furthermore, the Bible seemed to offer a promise for the future where the traditional cosmology was clearly unable to offer an explanation with regard to the disruptive new events caused by the arrival of the white people.

Peter Masiya's role at Shungu, therefore, must be seen as that of preparing the Toka-Leya to enter a new and wider cosmology - the Western world-view - and of showing them the limitations of the old and narrow cosmology. He was regarded as a kind of 'prophet'<sup>1</sup> by the Toka-Leya and his independent approach to evangelistic work, in the face of hostile Christian missionaries, must have lent credibility to this. Only towards the end of Masiya's life did the Toka-Leya realise that Masiya had had some connections with white missionaries. But instead of turning away from the CC, they continued to support the Church because the American missionaries had brought with them better educational and medical facilities, and free clothing, so that they could not be so bad after all.

Masiya's converts, who have been some of the most loyal and greatest supporters of the CC at Shungu, reflect his own history and disposition. Short biographies of the most prominent of them would illustrate this point.

#### Kambole Mpatamatenga (CC)

Mpatamatenga is regarded, after Masiya, as the strongest preacher the Church of Christ has ever had in the field. His own history is rooted in slavery. His mother was captured from Shungu by a raiding party of Lozi during the last century. She was given in marriage to at least three successive men, with whom she had children. Mpatamatenga's father, her last husband in Barotseland, was a Ndebele captive of the Lozi who had made good his escape. It was at that point that his mother also decided to escape back to her home in Shungu, carrying Kambole with her on her back. She was able to do so successfully and incorporated back into her family.

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1. Mpatamatenga, in Vol. 2 of his manuscripts, says this of Masiya: "He was a great Christian and preacher. Single-handed he brought the Church of Christ to us and converted many".

Mpatamatenga says he was a little boy when the Ndebele raid of 1893, in which so many Toka-Leya of Siakasipa and Musokotwane lost their lives, occurred. But he remembers the raid. He and his mother fled into the hills in the eastern part of Shungu and returned only when British South Africa Company officials established a state of security for the Toka-Leya. Yet having been born of a slave father who, in any case was absent, gave Mpatamatenga no security or status among his mother's people and quite early in his life he moved over to Livingstone to seek employment.

As early as 1902, Mpatamatenga had been working for a medical Doctor as a cook in Livingstone. Later he enrolled as a pupil at the Paris Missionary Society night school. This was about 1912. He was not baptized in the PMS church, although he regularly attended the church services.

It was at this time that Masiya was establishing the CC and Mpatamatenga was highly impressed by the fact that the new church was run by an African and supported entirely by the Toka-Leya, unlike the PMS, which was white-dominated and also Lozi-oriented. He began visiting Mujala's village during weekends to attend Masiya's sermons. He was converted in 1918 together with his wife and Mafuta Simbeza.

In 1923, Mpatamatenga left Livingstone to become a full-time preacher, in the tradition of Masiya. He first attended Sinde School and then interpreted for the missionary W.N. Short, before being "appointed school teacher of the first primary school started by Churches of Christ at Siamundele village".<sup>1</sup> In 1932, he was retired from

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1. Shewmaker, S. 1970. op. cit. p. 50.



teaching so that he could devote his time to preaching in the Ngwezi area where he founded a village. He has been a self-supporting preacher ever since.

Mpatamatenga's influence in the Ngwezi area has been highly significant. In 1968, at the age of approximately 75, he cultivated the largest maize field in the area - perhaps the result of his missionary apprenticeship. He is said to have been the first Toka-Leya to apply 'mission' techniques in building. Thus he built the first brick house with a concrete floor, which still stands today, in the 1940's. Many people around his area are said to have learnt building and farming techniques from Mpatamatenga, as well as other ways of enhancing their self-support. He has clearly shown this to others by opening an all-purpose shop which today is managed by his son at Makunka.

Mpatamatenga is the author of some hymns in the CC hymn book, as well as of two manuscripts relating to the history of the Bazamba clan, of which his mother was a member. One of these manuscripts was published in the 1940's.

#### Bulawayo Kukano (CC)

Like Masiya, Kukano attended Sherriff's night school in Bulawayo before being baptized in 1910.

Bulawayo's mother and himself, while a baby, had been carried away from Shungu by a raiding party of Ndebele. He thus grew up in slavery among the Ndebele. He managed to slip off to Bulawayo where he worked as a cook for various whitemen until he entered Sherriff's school. On being baptized, he told Sherriff that he wanted to join Masiya in his original homeland, Shungu. Sherriff granted his wish by sending him to Shungu about 1917 where he lived, and preached, apparently having traced his original



village. He died in 1951.<sup>1</sup> Like Masiya, Kukano had supported himself while carrying out his evangelistic work.

Mafuta Simbeza (CC)

Simbeza was a Toka from Mujala Village, baptized by Peter Masiya in 1918. As a young man, he worked as a cook in the European Hospital in Livingstone. He retired eventually after contracting elephantiasis. It was on his return to Mujala's village that he found Masiya propagating the Church of Christ there. He joined the church and has remained a strong adherent to this day.<sup>2</sup>

Later in life Simbeza was to move to the Mission Station to seek the help and protection of the missionaries, having found it difficult to cope with a hostile village population.

It will be recalled that the people of Mujala village had been alienated by the missionaries as a result of the creation of the mission farm of Sinde.

Petrose Kasara (PMS)

Very little is known of the background of Kasara. He is, however, said to have been a Lozi, and one of the early converts of the PMS at Kazungula. All evidence points to the fact that he had originally been a serf attached to the household of a representative of Lewanika at Kazungula.

Kasara was among the first three evangelists sent to Morija to training as evangelists in 1893 where they

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1. Short, W.N. 'Bulawayo Kukano', in Glimpses of Africa Vol. 6. Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12. March, April, May and June, 1951 (obituary note, inserted between pp. 2 and 3.)
  2. Shewmaker, J.C. (Mrs.) 'Old faithful', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 2. No. 6. December, 1946. p.1.

remained until 1898. He was baptized in 1899, a year after he was sent to the Mosi-Oa-Thunya station. He married a mission-trained girl, Mufaya, in 1899. In 1901, Kasara opened the Siakasipa annexe, where he remained until 1909. He died in 1910 at the Livingstone station, aged 32.<sup>1</sup>

#### Simango (PMS)

Again, very little is known about the background of Simango; however, he is said to have been a mission worker at Kazungula and one of a group of converts during the 1894 're-awakening'. Simango later settled in Siakasipa's area, where he was said to be instrumental in interesting a number of people in Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

#### Imusho Mwanang'ombe (PMS)

Imusho is said to have been partly Subiya and partly Toka. He had been a serf at Kazungula. He became a personal assistant to Coillard and also the first African convert of the PMS. He later became alienated from the church because he accepted the gift of a second wife from Lewanika, whom he went on to serve at Shungu by looking after his crafts village and cattle about 1906. Not long afterwards, Imusho was reconciled to the church. He built a church and school in his village of which the missionaries Coisson and Jalla were proud.<sup>3</sup> The village remained a stronghold of the PMS until after the PMS merged with other missionary societies in 1965. The independent churches appear to have taken over the village after this date.

#### Observations

A number of observations may be made in respect of the

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1. See Livingstone Reports of the PMS 1898 - 1910.
  2. See Kazungula Reports 1894 - 95 and also Livingstone Reports 1907 - 09. PMS Records
  3. See generally, Coillard, F.S. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa. Also: Livingstone Reports of the PMS 1906 - 1910.

conversion and religious convictions of these early African Christians at Shungu. Like Masiya, they had all at one time or another worked either for individual Europeans or European-run institutions as cooks, house servants or in some assistant capacity in the then emerging cosmopolitan centres of Kazungula and Livingstone.<sup>1</sup> They therefore had had the opportunity to observe and reflect upon the complexity of the new life and of the innovative and pervasive influence of the white man's culture or civilization. They must have come to the conclusion that the old particularistic order of society could not adequately cope with the new developments. Like Masiya, they sought ways and means of coming to terms with this new order, soon to engulf all traditional society, by adopting Christianity, the white man's religion which offered not only a better explanation to the contemporary situation, but also the promise of a better life in another world in which everybody, black or white, would be accorded an equal status.

Robin Horton, after Barrington-Ward, has suggested that the spread of Christianity among the Kalabari of Nigeria was closely related to the type of individuals who accepted the religion first, and also to widespread changes in the society:

it is often the men of marked drive, intelligence and foresight who accept the missionary message first. The message is apt to come at a time when widespread social changes are in the air; and at such a juncture, far-sighted people tend to take the view that the traditional order of belief may not be relevant for much longer. In "conversion", they are attempting to prepare themselves for a future order of events which

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1. Towards the close of the nineteenth century, Kazungula was an important commercial centre and a major point of contact between white and black and also between Westernized blacks from the south and Zambezians. But it remained under the control of Lewanika, King of Barotseland, until about 1906. Livingstone, however, was established as a white man's town but also attracted many Africans from Central and East Africa.



they judge is going to be very different from that of the present.<sup>1</sup>

Horton's theory would certainly apply to the conversion of the early evangelists and other propagators of Christianity. In terms of the early part of this century at Shungu, the men whose history we briefly examined had acquired a wider perspective of social issues as a result of their association with Europeans, particularly the missionaries. They would thus have been in a better position to reflect upon the new changes in a much more profound manner than most members of their society in the villages. Here again, a further examination of the manner in which some of these men interpreted Christianity would give us an insight into the nature of their belief in Christianity. It seems to me that Mpatamatenga, whose teaching is recorded, provides a good case study. Mpatamatenga was, after Masiya, the most articulate of these men. His two manuscripts, though ostensibly concerned with the history of the Bazamba clan of Shungu, have a much more potent message - the deliverance of the Bazamba people from traditional forms of worship to Christianity. The first manuscript ends with these words (quoted in the original English text):

In the end my people, I want to tell you. To those who can manage to read the Bible, God's news which shows us the way to everlasting life. We who are able to read let us not be lazy to read the Bible; God is the father of everything and he is our father.<sup>2</sup>

Mpatamatenga makes it clear above that he is talking about the God of whom the Bible speaks. Indeed he is arguing that the God of the Bible, of the white people, is also the God of the Bazamba people. In his second

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1. Horton, R. 'A hundred years of changes in Kalabari religion', in John Middleton (Ed.) 1970 Black Africa p. 208.
  2. Mpatamatenga, K. (n.d.) Kasimbo ambaenda'abo. Vol.1.

manuscript he urges the Bazamba to discard the old beliefs in the ancestors and put their faith in Christ:

Brethren, let us be righteous. God loves us... He gives us food and clothing to make our lives happy... He sent us his own son Jesus to tell us to stop praying to our ancestors. Pray to the living God, who created this world. God does not want us to pray to dead people.<sup>1</sup>

For Mpatamatenga, Christianity was closely linked with the welfare of the clan, just as for his people, ancestor worship was linked with the survival of the family, lineage or clan. For him, Christianity was to replace ancestor worship. But not only was ancestor worship to be abandoned, but also those customs and beliefs that made it difficult for the Bazamba people to be truly incorporated into a Christian ethic. He urged the abandonment of witchcraft and the physical elimination of all wizards and witch-doctors:

I should be a happy man if a great witch-doctor were found to smell out all the witches in this land. They should then be cast over the Great Falls to their destruction. After this has been accomplished, the witch-doctor himself should be seized and cast over. This would cleanse the land of their evil influence.<sup>2</sup>

Yet another common factor in the histories of the early Christian converts is that the majority of them had, prior to conversion, been slaves, serfs or had generally held lowly positions in their own societies. In the last Chapter we saw that at Kazungula those slaves and serfs who became converted to Christianity at the mission station were able to shake off their master's yoke thereby. Thus, it would be true to say that originally, the prospect of obtaining their freedom must have led

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1. Ibid.

2. Ibid Vol. 2.



many converts-to-be to the mission station. Thus, from Champod's report, we have observed that by 1905, when freedom from slavery was being guaranteed by a secular agency, the BSA Company, many who had professed Christianity at Kazungula had fallen into apostasy. Nevertheless, it would also be true to say that there were other converts who continued to profess Christianity in spite of guarantees of freedom by secular agencies. For this category of converts, Christianity appears to have offered new meanings in both this world and the after-world. It raised their self-esteem in this world, so that from being the underdogs of society, they became the interpreters of the new order to those under whom they had laboured. Furthermore, Christianity offered them continued moral and spiritual nourishment and promised a better after-life where all men, black and white, would attain social equality. Indeed the idea of social equality between white and black appears to have pre-occupied the thinking of these early Christians. Imusho Mwanang'ombe, who, as we have already seen, was the first African convert of the PMS on the Zambezi, was able to tell an audience of non-believers:

Are you going to say, "Look at Nguana-Ngombe; he wants to be a white man?" How can I become a white man, when I was born black? God is not the God of the whites only: All white people are not believers; we have seen some already who were bad like ourselves.<sup>1</sup>

Manang'ombe was convinced of the righteousness of the missionary and of his right to a place in heaven. And heaven would open its gates to himself as well; he, the missionary's servant:

But [the missionary] is going there; and I, his moshimane,<sup>2</sup> am going too.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Coillard, J. 1971. op. cit. p. 323.

2. Moshimane: boy, servant, serf or slave. In this case meaning, 'servant'.

3. Coillard, F. 1971. op. cit. p. 323.

In this Chapter, I have examined the relationship between Christianity and the first converts at Shungu. I have shown that the converts were often men who had had some contact with Europeans and Western civilization in the emerging urban centres of Southern and Northern Rhodesia. I have suggested that this contact has had a decisive influence on their conception of their traditional world-view and the new changes that had come to take place as a result of the coming of the Europeans. I have suggested further, that these men came to the conclusion that the new social changes could not be adequately understood in terms of the old cosmology, which offered a narrow range of explanation, but rather, in terms of a universalistic philosophy, such as is contained in Christianity.

I have also shown that the first converts had held marginal statuses in their own societies and suggested that Christianity offered them a meaningful role and status in this world, while promising an other-world in which every human being, white or black, who obeyed the laws of God, would be accepted on an equal footing.

## CHAPTER 10

### THE CONTEMPORARY SITUATION

As profound changes affect more and more the entire social fabric, the Toka-Leya find that they are unable to understand or accommodate these changes in terms of the traditional cosmology. They thus turn more and more to Christianity, an ideology that explains their social problems and existence in universalistic terms. In this, the final Chapter, I attempt to examine the manner in which the Toka-Leya are seeking to adjust to new social situations through various Christian movements. I also discuss briefly the non-religious appeals of Christianity such as church pageantry and material benefits.

As pointed out earlier, the first Christian movements to be introduced among the Toka-Leya were the mission churches. Today, of the original three such movements, only the RCC and the CC are active, the PMS having merged in 1965 with other Protestant mission churches to form the UCZ. The UCZ is not represented in rural Shungu, although it has a branch in Livingstone itself. The independent churches, the NA, WT, and AME are relatively new to Shungu. The earliest Toka-Leya followers of these churches joined them after 1950, but the majority became affiliated to them only after Zambia became independent.<sup>1</sup>

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1. To a large extent, this was because the Colonial Government, fearing the political influence of the African independent churches, made it difficult for them to spread to the rural areas where they would be difficult to control. The chiefs, in particular, were told to be on their guard and to report any activities relating to the leaders of such churches. Thus on 5th December, 1955, Chief (F/note continued on page 239)

Yet it is evident that the independent churches are making rapid progress in relation to the established mission churches. They now dominate areas at Shungu which are not frequented by the missionaries. They have also made substantial gains even with the mission neighbourhoods. In the Makunka neighbourhood, for example, where a Catholic mission station has existed since 1961, (see Map 6) the independent Christian churches have a following of 12.00%, compared to the Catholic following of 15.44%. (See Table 5.) Moreover, it would appear that the mission churches are losing a significant number of their followers to the independent churches. Shewmaker reports a CC loss of 3% to the independent churches in northern Shungu in 1968<sup>1</sup>.

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(F/note continued from page 238.)

Sekute reported to the District Commissioner, Livingstone, about Watch Tower activity in the Western part of his chieftdom. His letter, and the swift action taken by the Government to remove W.T. adherents from the area clearly shows the significance attached by the Administration to the activities of the independent churches. Sekute had reported: "May I have the honour most respectful to report this matter of Watch Tower men who came to settle here to Mambova in my area without my permission or your permission to possess a settlement here. I personally talked to them in the month of July this year to destroy their huts and as well as to move off from this place. Now to their reply to me they replied me that I had no authority of moving them here, for I am a creature of God as they are and the Earth is of nobody but God alone and therefore I have no right to do anything to them is what was their reply. I even told them that it is against the law to keep the people who have no business here where they are and it is better for them to go and live in Towns if they are after to preach people with the words of Watch Tower but they denied to listen to what I was trying to advise them. I therefore put this matter in your hand to be fixed by you my Lord". Whereupon, the District Commissioner told the chief "to order the people to go". (See District File No. 2/11/9. Livingstone.)

1. Shewmaker, Stan, 1971. Church growth among Church of Christ of Southern Province of Zambia. Vol. 2. p.22. Shewmaker was unable to find out why another 15% of the membership left the Church of Christ. It is likely that some of these have gone to the independent churches.



This could be higher today. The Catholics have also lost a significant number of their followers in the Sekute chiefdom, although the exact figure cannot be ascertained by the parish priest.

Besides the churches that are accepted as basically Christian, there are other movements, such as Nzila and Ndopu which incorporate in basically traditional forms of healing and worship, a number of Christian elements. These accounted for 0.43% of the Makunka neighbourhood population. It was generally accepted, however, by both the Makunka community and the parish priest that many Christians, particularly those of the Catholic church, were also adherents of these cults.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see below, many converts of the RCC started off as members of the healing cults.

Whatever the strength of the various independent churches today, it would be true to say that the original impetus to Christianity among the Toka-Leya was provided by the Christian missionaries. That some Toka-Leya have turned away from the mission churches is a sociological problem deserving examination. I believe that this question may be understood in terms of the nature of church leadership in relation to African aspirations, as well as the need, on the part of Africans, to relate Christianity to their basic existential problems. In a previous

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1. Because of the Catholic Church's liberal policy in recent years in permitting its adherents to retain some of their traditional beliefs, Toka-Leya traditionalists find its compromising attitude acceptable. An adviser to chief Mukuni stated that although the CC had been established in the chiefdom as far back as '1912', the RCC was gaining the upper hand because of its approach. Again we may observe that Toka-Leya afflicted with psychological illnesses such as nzila, muba, etc., whose cures are traditionally prescribed, now prefer to enter the Catholic Church rather than any other Christian church in the area. Undoubtedly the elaborate ritual of the RCC, which is likened by some of its converts to the traditional rituals of healing, appeals to this type of people.



Chapter, we saw that Africans in the town of Livingstone deserted the PMS to join independent churches because the former was seen as a white-dominated institution, bearing little relevance to their needs and aspirations. Furthermore, the opposition of the mission churches at that time to all forms of African beliefs and traditions presented a major obstacle to the total acceptance of Christianity by some Africans. This situation was also reflected in rural Shungu. To start with, the missionaries offered the local people no opportunities for leadership in the church. Furthermore, the social distance they created between themselves and the people at the grassroots was highly resented. This was clearly expressed by Mr. Samson Chipongo, a local pastor of the AME in the Kalamba neighbourhood (Chief Sekute). He said:

I joined this church because it is a church for Africans. It has never been dominated by Europeans. It broke away in America from the church of the Europeans because the black people hated discrimination and segregation. Here in this area, this church is controlled by us Africans and not the missionaries.

Indeed this point is strongly emphasized in the teaching of the AME (see Appendix II).

Another member of the AME said he had never joined the Catholic Church, despite its activity in the area since 1937 because he was suspicious of Catholic motives:

The Catholics in the past did not want us Africans to know more than they wanted us to know. They even forbade people to read the Bible or carry it into their church. They were hiding something from the black people.

It is difficult to ascertain the validity of this latter claim, but the respondent may have been referring to the Protestant edition of the Bible, which was in Tonga, and which the Catholics would naturally have wanted their

followers not to read. The Catholics taught in Lozi and their Bible would therefore, have been in Lozi, which the local people found difficult to follow. It is known that at this time, the CC used to distribute to the Toka-Leya translated portions or 'tracts' of the Bible.

The independent churches have, therefore, been welcomed largely because they offer possibilities for leadership roles among the local people.

As I have said, the total rejection of African customs in the mission churches in the early days was itself an inhibiting factor for many Africans to join the mission churches. Because of the varying interpretations of Christianity within the independent churches, there was room for individuals to express themselves in the local idiom. Admittedly, some independent churches such as the W.T. and the AME rejected all traditional practice publicly, but others, such as the N.A. which, on the whole, has the largest following (of the independent churches), permitted some traditional practices, such as polygamy, among church members.

Only recently has the Catholic Church pursued a liberal policy toward permitting its followers to indulge in traditional practices such as ancestor worship. Significantly, this has also gained the church a measure of popularity among the local people of the older generation. Thus Chief Sekute states that he did not at first wish to join any Christian church because of their prohibitive attitudes against traditional customs and beliefs. He became converted to Catholicism only in 1967;<sup>1</sup>

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1. Chief Mukuni reflected chief Sekute's attitude to some extent. He was baptized in the CC in 1939 as a school boy. But on becoming chief in 1971, he found the anti-traditionalist attitude of the CC quite inconsistent with the traditional leadership role he was expected to play. He left the CC and (F/note continued on page 243).

because the missionaries now permit us to worship our ancestors as well. This was why I joined. But the other churches are different. You are not allowed to conduct a funeral for your dead in the traditional manner. You cannot pray to the ancestors. You cannot perform rain-making ceremonies. You are not allowed to brew beer and least of all drink it. It is wrong for the churches to kill other people's customs. These customs are their way of life. When a child is ill, it is only right that you consult the diviner. When your ancestors appear, they must be given the respect and worship they deserve. Other churches forbid these practices. They want to cheat us out of our customs.

Other converts of the older generation in the RCC echo the chief's sentiments. Yet both the chief and themselves find ancestor worship not entirely satisfactory in explaining the new changes that affect their society. As leader of his people, Chief Sekute officiated, along with the priestess Ina-Singandu, in rain-making and other ceremonies. But he has abandoned these now because, so he claims, his ritual authority is no longer accepted by his people. He says:

The people no longer listen to my instructions. When they are advised to do the lwiindi, so that we can have the rain, they say, "Ah! but the rain cannot be made to fall by a person. It will come when the time comes for it to fall; it cannot be called by anybody". They then proceed to sell the beer they have brewed for the lwiindi, so that they make money out of it for themselves. And so I think to myself, if this is going to be the general attitude of my people, I shall stop calling for the lwiindi. And so for many years now, the ceremony has been abandoned. I have washed my hands of it.

It is perhaps problems involving the very essence

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(F/note continued from page 242)

joined the RCC within a year of assuming the chiefship. And he puts his own view as follows: "We cannot abandon our old traditions just because we have become Christians. I have become a Catholic in order to see things in a wider context. You see, we must continue to pray for rain in the traditional manner. We must uphold our people's cherished customs and traditions".

of the traditional cosmology that have led Chief Sekute and others like him to seek a new way of coming to terms with the new changes in society. Christianity offers meaning to situations of this nature going far beyond the traditional world-view. When the role of Christianity is seen from this point of view, we can readily understand the existence of several Christian movements at Shungu. Writing about the emergence of prophetic movements in West Africa, Banton has suggested that:

They cannot be adequately understood if the student does not at some point view them as popular attempts to come to terms with new and troubling situations: to provide moral justifications for the new kind of life that is demanded.<sup>1</sup>

I would suggest that Banton's theory, applied to the Shungu situation, underlines the contemporary role of Christianity, whether of the mission or independent species.

For many Christian Toka-Leya, Christianity offers them a means of breaking out of the limitations of the traditional world-view, thus acting outside the traditional value system. Christianity is a justification in its own right. Thus, to the ambitious and forward-looking people, sorcery and witchcraft can no longer explain personal achievement. Since the successful cannot explain themselves in terms of socially undesirable practices - sorcery and witchcraft - they justify their achievement in terms of a wider scientific ethic, supported by Christianity. This may be illustrated by the case of Chief Sekute's adviser, Mr. Samon Chipongo. Mr. Chipongo was elected Chief Sekute's adviser in 1960. This was a highly respectable position in society and for

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1. Banton, M. 'African prophets', in John Middleton (Ed) 1970. Black Africa. p. 233.



most Toka-Leya, it is an enviable position. This created a moral problem for Mr. Chipongo, who had to explain the source of his new power. His sudden attainment of such a high position might raise the presumption of sorcery or magic in the minds of those around him. To allay all the gossip and suspicion, he joined the AME, of which he is the local pastor today. As he put it:

I realized I had taken on a heavy responsibility in the chieftdom, handling all sorts of court cases. Everybody was watching and wondering. But I did not want to be accused of employing magic, so I quickly decided to follow the word of God and joined this church in 1961. Before then, I had taken no interest in Christianity.

There is a strong belief among the Toka-Leya that those who turn to Christianity absolve themselves of all witchcraft and sorcery practices and as such, allegations of this nature, such as are common in traditional society, cannot be made against them.<sup>1</sup> To this

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1. In various parts of Central Africa, the emergence of various Christian movements has been associated, in one form or another with the neutralization of witchcraft. In the early days of Northern Rhodesia, the W.T. movement was seen by many Africans as an anti-witchcraft agency. A man who claimed to have witnessed W.T. baptisms stated that during the immersion rite, those who floated in the stream were accused of witchcraft and those who sank were declared innocent. People flocked to the W.T. to prove their innocence. Terence Ranger quotes the first popular leader of the movement, Tomo Nyirenda, known as 'Mwana Lesa' (Son of God) as telling people: "Anyone who does not come to be baptized by me in this country, he shall be killed by the wrath of God on his coming. If anyone will be baptized you will not be dying now and then all the witches with charms must throw them away." (Ranger, T. 'The Mwana Lesa movement of 1925,' in T.O. Ranger and John Weller (Eds.) 1975. Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa. p. 47. Banton also points out this aspect of Christianity in the former Belgian Congo: "anyone who shook hands with a Salvation Army man or stood beneath their banner, and survived, was innocent of witchcraft". (Banton, op.cit. p. 229). (F/note continued on page 246.)



extent, Mr. Chipongo's success could only be interpreted in terms of a Christian ethic which, for the most part, offers a rational explanation for personal achievement. In the same way wealthy Toka-Leya have turned to Christianity in order to avoid sorcery accusations. I have already shown that Toka-Leya believe that men accumulate wealth by magical means. But the symbolic nature of Christianity among the Toka-Leya has had far-reaching implications. The very old in society are often accused of witchcraft and other socially undesirable practices. Thus to escape such accusations some elderly Toka-Leya have become Christians.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, those who are afflicted with social illnesses which would have been within the competence of mediums, diviners and witchdoctors to cure, now turn to the Christian churches, particularly the RCC and the N.A., to obtain the necessary cures. Headman Mooka, for instance, states that he had never taken interest in Christianity until he was afflicted by the nzila illness, a social illness whose ritual cure involves the use of herbs, drums, music and dance and the attention of a witchdoctor, diviner, or medium. He went through this process but did not find the satisfaction he had hoped for. As he put it:

I knew then I had to enter the Church. The Catholic Church understands our problems and allows us to pray to our ancestors for help as well. So I chose to join it. I have been quite well since then.

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(F/note continued from page 245)

It may be of interest to the above thesis to refer here to cases of witchcraft in Mukuni's village in 1975. A renowned itinerant witch-finder, 'Dr.' Kadansa Sansakuwa Kapilikisha, accused 12 people of witchcraft in the village. The accused readily confessed to witchcraft practices. Of these, 4 were known to be faithful members of the Catholic Church. This caused consternation in the population, as Christians were supposed to be free of such practices. It is too early yet to say what the effect of this incident will be on the popular view of the relation of Christianity to witchcraft.

1. Some of the oldest living members of the Sekute chiefdom have been baptized between 1967 and 1976.

Most converts of Kooma's village, who are members of the RCC claim to have entered the RCC after being afflicted by the nzila illness.

The above examples clearly illustrate that the Toka-Leya find the traditional religious prescriptions inadequate in coping with the present social disturbances in society, and that Christianity offers a more satisfactory interpretation of the present situation. Thus even the traditional healers of the nzila and similar illnesses borrow elements of Christianity and Western culture in their ritual. For instance followers of the nzila healer, Ndopu,<sup>1</sup> when casting out spirits from their patients, re-enact Christ's act of casting out devils. They strike the patient with the Holy Bible on the head and cry out, "Let the spirits of Satan come out." Another interesting case relating to the cure of a traditional social illness by resort to Christian and Western symbolism was witnessed by the lady missionary Myrtle Rowe of the CC in 1950:

One time girls came running to the house saying Roda was very sick and I must come quickly. I asked how she was sick and they said she had a spirit. I went out to see the spirit and Roda was lying on the floor almost lifeless and unconscious. Girls were bathing her head and face in cold water and all the others were standing close around her. I thought she had fainted so I quickly scattered the girls so the child could get fresh air. I used all the means I knew to revive her but to no avail... Then I heard the girls saying to each other, "Get out books and let's sing to her. She will die." ... I asked the girls, "Why do you want to sing? They said, "She wants us to sing to her and beat her head with a Bible for she has a spirit." Then [later] I learned that this was a common ailment in her village but someone there could beat them with the Bible and the spirit quickly left the person. Different people were affected in different ways. Some faint as Roda did, some cry, some go wild, but the magic Bible heals.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ndopu is a Kwangwa, residing near Mulobezi (Western Province), but whose influence spreads as far as Shungu.
  2. Rowe, M. 'Sick in soul and body', in Glimpses of Africa. Vol. 5. No. 9. March, 1950. p.1.

In the above text, we see the shift in the treatment of social illness from using traditional methods to the use of Christian symbols, in the form of Christian music and the Bible, clearly showing that the traditional ways of containing such illness could no longer be relied upon in the circumstances.

Another case told by the same missionary, and witnessed during the early days of the CC in significant in many ways. A solution of soap was administered orally to a girl who had been afflicted by a spirit (in addition to the Bible cure)<sup>1</sup>. It may be noted that, in order to promote hygienic standards of living around the mission stations, the wives of CC missionaries had been conducting alongside religious instruction, demonstrations in the domestic manufacture of soap. Both the girls at mission stations and the women in mission station neighbourhoods were taught the art of soap-making. Thus to the rural folk, the Bible and the soap, the cleansing properties of which the missionaries emphasized, were likened to each other. The southern Tonga word for 'spiritual cleansing' Kusalazya is also the same word used for 'cleaning' and it is easy to see how closely associated the purported cleansing properties of the Bible were to the detergent properties of soap. Thus in spiritual cures, the soap solution had replaced the herbal concoction, just as the Bible had replaced the flyswitch and other traditional symbols of cure.

Social change among the Toka-Leya has led to the gradual weakening of traditional ties based on kinship and local groupings. This development has tended to alienate individuals who cannot turn to their relatives for assistance as they would have been entitled to do, in the past. The various Christian movements play a role in

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1. Ibid. p.2.

the re-socialization of alienated individuals by restructuring society and creating a new basis of association. Recruitment to the churches, particularly the independent ones, is on a wider basis, transcending the family kin group, local group, or ethnic group. Thus a new kind of 'brotherhood' and 'sisterhood' is emerging among the Toka-Leya that is fast superseding the importance of the kin or local grouping. A female member of the Kalamba branch of the AME saw the role of church members in the following terms:

We are required by the church to visit each other as members. In particular, we assist church members who are befallen by misfortune. We act as a group.

Her husband, who is the second leader of this branch consisting 9 women and 6 men, said that his primary functions are to visit and comfort sick members of the church as well as attend to the problems of the needy.

An elderly member of the RCC stated that he wanted to see church members address themselves to practical social problems on a wider basis, but is evidently disappointed because this has not been the case:

What I expect to see in the church is that members come to the assistance of those in our society who live without assistance from their relatives. People make lots of promises to assist while in the church building. But they do not carry out their promises. We fail to co-operate, which is a pity.

In a society where adultery, drunkenness and materialism are said to be on the increase, the strict moral prescriptions of the independent movements particularly the W.T. and AME, help to restore a balanced life by bringing a keen awareness among the followers of the dangers of such excesses.



Another significant role of the various Christian movements among the Toka-Leya is that they serve as agencies for local political rivalry. Thus in the Kalamba neighbourhood, men who are related to Chief Sekute and aspire to the chiefship are affiliated to churches other than the RCC (of which the chief is a member). A case in point is that of the chief's senior adviser, and relative, Mr. Chipongo who is a powerful contender for the chiefship. Mr. Chipongo resides in the chief's village, but he is leader of a church (a branch of the AME) which is situated in Maibwe village, some 3 miles away from the chief's village. It is in this part of the neighbourhood that there are also a number of the chief's relatives who are clearly interested parties in the chiefship. Again, the chief's elder brother's son, Keenga, who is obviously another contender for the chiefship, is a strong supporter of the CC and one of the three African elders of this church in Livingstone.

Old rivalries, too, between Sekute and descendants of the old rulers of Shungu tend to be expressed in denominational affiliation. The influential descendants of a nineteenth century ruler of part of western Shungu, Segwanyana, are mostly followers of the N.A., as opposed to Sekute's RCC. This is also true of village headmen descended from petty leaders in the past whose opposition to Sekute stems from their feeling that Sekute was imposed upon them as a ruler. Significantly, those who have joined the church since Sekute became a Catholic in 1967 have become followers of other churches. Undoubtedly some of this apparent opposition within the chieftdom is coincidental, but political motives cannot be ruled out.

The structural organization of the various churches at Shungu also expresses generational differences and conflict. Thus the young and educated in the society are, in the main, followers of the two mission churches, the CC and RCC. On the whole, they reject the independent

churches which they associate with their elders. On the other hand, the older and relatively unsophisticated members of society, tend to follow the independent churches whose simplified and relevant message they find appealing. They clearly resent the attitude of their youngsters toward their churches. As Headman Maibwe of the AME put the matter:

The young look down upon our church and do not see any sense or use in it.

And the Kalamba leader of this church, Mr. Chipongo, was of the opinion that if his church had offered formal education as well, the young might have been better disposed toward its religious teaching.

As we have already seen, this problem is complicated by the fact that the old generally associate mission churches with school and the young, while the young associate independent churches with the old, illiterate people as well as with old customs and traditions which they themselves largely reject.

We might at this juncture consider the role of Christian movements at Shungu in personal salvation. Bryan Wilson has stated that:

Every [Christian] movement seeks to transform the consciousness of converts, by directing them to salvation as the supreme goal, and to the prospect of its attainment through the philosophy, rituals, and moral prescriptions that it enjoins or by persuading them to open themselves to the new experience that it offers.<sup>1</sup>

The traditional Toka-Leya religious doctrine does

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1. Wilson, B. 1976. Contemporary transformations of religion. pp. 45 - 46.

not offer an ideology of salvation going beyond the world of the dead who are believed to be on this earth. A man's hope is that when he dies, his spirit will find an honoured place in the ranks of family, lineage or clan ancestors. To this extent, those with a long history of distinguished ancestors might look forward to the attainment of an exalted place after death, while those without proper station in the world of the living might expect on dying to fall into oblivion. Christianity, on the whole promises to all believers a better world, beyond the worlds of the living or the dead, in which all men are free and equal. It is not surprising that the first converts of Christianity were usually those with a low station in society.

I now turn briefly to some non-religious but popular aspects of Christianity. As I have already indicated in other Chapters, Christianity for a significant number of Toka-Leya is a source of material benefits. Thus apart from the education offered by mission schools until recently, the missionaries also offered clothing, cash and medical treatment. All these were sources of attraction for the relatively poor rural population of Shungu to associate themselves with the missionaries and, hence, Christianity. To some extent, this has continued to be the case today with regard to the RCC and CC. On the other hand, the independent churches, by acting as 'welfare associations' also fulfil this function in the society. Equally important as a source of attraction to Christianity, however, is the music and pageantry offered by the various Christian movements. Thus, it is generally accepted by the early converts of the W.T. that one of its attractions during the early days was its evocative songs, composed by individual preachers as they encountered people in the field. Such songs, which drew upon both the Bible and the experiences of the preachers, and folklore, inspired and attracted large crowds of people. Again, the pageants of the independent churches cannot but have had a

compelling effect for many rural people. Members of the N.A. for instance, particularly the women, dress up in sparkling white frocks every Sunday morning and march off to Church in processions which bring a great deal of excitement/<sup>and</sup> appreciation to rural people. The quarterly and yearly conventions of the independent churches where members meet others from different parts of the country must also act as an incentive for those interested in widening their social horizon to join Christian movements.

It may, indeed, be also said that the mission churches did gain a substantial number of their members simply because they were popular movements with which all those who considered themselves 'progressive' or 'enlightened' wanted to associate themselves.

In this Chapter, I have examined the role of Christianity in contemporary Toka-Leya society. I have argued that those Toka-Leya who have turned to Christianity have come to the conclusion that the traditional world-view does not adequately answer the issue posed by the pervasive social changes in society and that, Christianity, by its universalistic ideology, enables people to come to terms with the social ills and problems generated by modern political, economic and other social changes, outlined fully in Chapter 2.

I have shown that Christianity has played a major role in the secularization of the Toka-Leya world-view by providing moral justification for new and rational forms of action. Thus notions of witchcraft are made irrelevant in explaining individual action - individual initiative and success in modern political and economic ventures.

I have also examined the specific role of the independent churches, as opposed to the mission churches. I have suggested that they serve to stimulate "ambition



in creating leadership roles for the local people"<sup>1</sup> and therefore are more appealing to the Toka-Leya than the mission churches whose leadership has largely remained in the hands of white missionaries. I have also suggested that because of their divergent doctrines, independent churches offer individual followers a wider scope of expression in the local cultural idiom.

I have pointed out that because of their wider basis of recruitment, independent churches play a significant role in breaking down traditional barriers of kinship, ethnicity or neighbourhood. In the words of Bryan Wilson, the independent churches are "efforts at consciously remaking social structures for rural people who previously have taken the given collectivities of social life very much for granted, virtually as part of nature."<sup>2</sup> I have argued, too that because of their strict codes of behaviour, the independent churches play a significant role in checking excesses in society.

I have shown that the various religious organizations among the Toka-Leya serve as agencies through which local political rivalries as well as generational differences are expressed.

I have considered the important issue of faith and salvation served by Christianity. I have shown that the traditional view of the after-life is transcended by the promise of a better other-world offered by Christianity.

I have also pointed out that Christianity attracted a large number of followers because it offered material benefits such as education, medical services, etc. I have suggested, too, that people are drawn to the various Christian movements, particularly the independent churches, because of the popularity of such churches as social movements.

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1. Ibid. p. 52.

2. Ibid. p. 56.

## CHAPTER 11

### CONCLUSIONS

Sociological and anthropological studies of Christian missions have, in the main, confined themselves to examining the social consequences of the transformation of the religious consciousness in the individual members of mission societies. To my knowledge, only recently have attempts been made to view the missionaries and mission peoples in particular situations as forming a social whole. There has been even less interest to view missionary groups in the field as units of sociological and anthropological analysis in their own right. This thesis is an attempt on my part to view the missionaries and the Toka-Leya of southern Zambia as a 'total society', and therefore to relate missionary behaviour to Toka-Leya behaviour and vice-versa. I believe, along with Beidelman,<sup>1</sup> that this approach throws more light on the sociology and anthropology of Christian missions.

In more specific and descriptive terms, this study has been concerned with understanding the ideals and objectives of the sponsoring missionary societies in Europe and America; the aims and motives of the missionaries in the field; the relations between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya, and the Toka-Leya reactions to Christianity both during the initial contact and in contemporary times. A description of the social organization of the Toka-Leya has been given to define them as a social reality and to provide a background against which social change may

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1. See Beidelman, T.O. 'Social theory and the study of Christian missions', in Africa. Vol. XLIV No. 3. July, 1974. pp. 235 - 249.

be measured, as well as to outline the Toka-Leya value system. The social and cultural backgrounds of the missionary groups at Shungu have been contrasted both against each other and against the Toka-Leya cultural background.

Students of Christian missions in Central Africa attribute, in the main, the missionary enterprise to the influence of David Livingstone. Thus Taylor and Lehmann have stated:

Livingstone's death in 1873 gave an immense impetus to several different missionary societies.<sup>1</sup>

There can be no doubt that Livingstone was a great inspiration to the missionaries who went to Africa after him. More important still, he helped to map out the areas which were later to be claimed by particular missionary groups. Yet for Central Africa as a whole, there were only a few men who had dared to emulate Livingstone's independent approach to the missionary enterprise. It is clear, however, that whatever the significance of Livingstone's earlier missionary exploits, the concerted missionary enterprise in Central Africa cannot be understood in terms of the idiosyncracies of individual missionaries - who in any case, were far between - but rather, as an effect of a wider and pervasive colonial movement. It is no coincidence that concerted missionary endeavour became focussed upon Central Africa during the scramble for Africa by the 'Big Powers'. In this respect, the missionary enterprise resembles that in some other parts of Africa. With reference to West Africa, Ekechi has stated:

it must be recognized that Christian missionary enterprise in Igboland, as well as elsewhere in

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1. Taylor, J.V. and D. Lehmann. 1961. Christians of the Copperbelt. p. 2.



Africa, was not unrelated to the political and economic changes that had taken place in Europe. Missionary evangelization of the Lower Niger ... was indeed very much interrelated with nineteenth-century European commercial and political drive into the West African interior.<sup>1</sup>

In Northern Rhodesia, as well as in other parts of Central Africa, the objectives of the sponsors of missionaries were linked with a desire not only to eradicate slavery and other practices that were considered by the West to be abhorrent, but also with another desire to protect the rights of the colonized peoples from the effects of colonialism. The strangulation of the slave trade and the substitution of legitimate trade and commerce in its place, far from offering security to the colonized peoples, posed far-reaching problems relating to the development of relations between the European colonial administrator and settler on the one hand, and the colonized people on the other. In the light of these developments, the missionaries were to act to prevent social injustices being perpetrated against the colonized and to initiate the latter into a Western moral, spiritual and material ethic. In so doing, the missionaries were to have the effect of quickening the pace of social disintegration in traditional societies and to use specific aspects of European culture as weapons for spreading the Gospel.

It had been the aim of the sponsoring missionary bodies in Europe and America to establish mission churches that would eventually become autonomous. The Protestant mission churches were founded in the hope that they would develop into self-supporting, self-governing and self-propagating bodies, while the Catholic mission would develop into a church with an indigenous leadership, while remaining an integral part of the Church of Rome.

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1. Ekechi, F.K. 1971. Missionary enterprise and rivalry in Igboland 1857 - 1914 p.1.



Yet in all cases mission policy was not strictly adhered to by the missionaries in the field, with the result that it took long for these objectives to be realized. By its nature, missionary work demands that those who are involved in it move on to other fields when they have established a church capable of supporting and governing itself. Yet at Shungu, the missionaries of the various denominations were reluctant to train an indigenous leadership in their churches, capable of taking over the leadership. Instead, the missionaries became church leaders. This development was partly due to the fact that the missionaries became attached to their creations as well as their positions of leadership and therefore resented the prospect of having to hand these over to the local people and move elsewhere to start afresh; and partly because they lacked confidence in the ability of the local people to run the churches effectively, once they had taken over. The emergence of the latter attitude on the part of the missionaries was, moreover, greatly influenced by the general low regard which whites at Shungu had for blacks. The missionaries were after all part of the white community and, despite their Christian ideals, related themselves to the Africans in much the same way as the colonial administrator or settler did. I have tried to show how missionaries very frequently came to adopt the same attitudes in almost all aspects of social life and, above all, how they came to believe that the African was inferior and therefore incapable of independent church leadership.

The reluctance of the missionaries to allow Africans to assume positions of leadership in the church or, at least, to permit them to take a fuller participation in the running of church affairs inevitably generated conflict. The more articulate and educated church members found themselves frustrated in their ambition to express their 'self-confidence and sense of their own capacity'<sup>1</sup>

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1. Davis, Merle 1933. Modern industry and the Africa.p. 53.

through the church. In 1932, a Commission inquiring into the effects of industry upon the Africans in Northern Rhodesia made the following observation regarding the frustration of Africans in mission churches:

We were told of the craving of evangelists, pastors and teachers for more of a share in shaping mission policies and for the confidence and comradeship of the missionary.<sup>1</sup>

The frustrations led to the abandonment of the mission churches by some Africans, some of whom joined African independent churches which offered opportunities for indigenous leadership.

The psychological reorientation of the mission churches was to come only after the 1950's with the awakening of a political consciousness among Africans which eventually led to a radical change in the relations between Europeans and Africans. Placed under pressure from both church members and radical African elements who criticised the conservative policies of the missionary establishment, the missionaries opened positions of leadership in the churches to the Africans. Furthermore, the sponsoring missionary societies, fearing the reaction of the independent nation-state to the conservatism of their mission churches, prevailed upon the latter to pursue more liberal and acceptable policies.

The development of missionary attitudes at Shungu and in Northern Rhodesia as a whole resembles, in some ways, the Nigerian situation. Prior to the colonization of Nigeria, the missionaries had pursued a policy that was aimed at the rapid creation of an indigenous church. Thus the Church Missionary Society had gone as far as appointing an African, Crowther, Bishop of the Niger

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1. Loc cit.

Mission or Niger Territory between 1864 and 1877.<sup>1</sup> But after 1885, when the English presence in Nigeria as a colonial power was recognized by the Berlin Conference, missionary policies, along with missionary attitudes began to change. As Ajayi states:

From being suppliants seeking protection in the country, the European missionaries became protectors, and their attitude towards Africans changed accordingly. From fellow-men and brothers ... they were becoming part of a ruling caste.<sup>2</sup>

As in the case of the missionaries at Shungu, the Nigerian "missions continued to rely on their African staffs, but highly educated pastors were not encouraged, and their highest posts were reserved for Europeans"<sup>3</sup>. Again, as with the Shungu missions, missionary attitudes toward Africans in the church did not become favourable until the 1950's. As Ajayi points out again:

After Crowther there were assistant bishops but no diocesan bishop till 1953, when the constitutional changes in the country occasioned constitutional changes in the Church.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast to the Northern Rhodesian and Nigerian situations, East African missions worked toward the rapid development of indigenous churches. Thus, as Roland Oliver states:

In all six of the Anglican dioceses African clergy by 1938 outnumbered the ordained European missionaries; by 1950 they were about four to one. In the Lutheran Churches ordained Africans were

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1. Ajayi, J.F.A. 1965. Christian missions in Nigeria 1841 - 1891. p. 206.

2. Ibid. pp. 234 - 235.

3. Ibid. p. 271.

4. Ibid.p. 272.



drawing level with Europeans in 1938, in 1949 they outnumbered them by three to one. In 1947 there were 11 African Presbyterian ministers in Kenya, as against three Europeans. Africans priests in the Roman Catholic orders, who were required to undergo about eighteen years of education and to take the usual vows of celibacy, were even at the end of the period in a minority of one to five to the ordained European missionaries. Nevertheless their numbers grew from 2 in 1914 to 80 in 1938 and to 208 in 1946, when there were also 1385 aspirants in the last stages of their training.<sup>1</sup>

The development of the East African missions was as much the result of mission policies as of the social and political climate of the region. Uganda and Tanganyika, in particular, never had an acute settler problem which, in Northern Rhodesia, resulted in a conflict of interest between whites and Africans and also affected missionary attitudes. Although conflict characterized white and black social relations in Kenya, Kenyan missions appear to have followed the pattern set by Ugandan and Tanganyikan missions. In any case, some missions were run on an East African, rather than territorial basis.

In their efforts to missionize the Toka-Leya, the missionaries portrayed forms of behaviour and adopted strategies that had far-reaching consequences upon the mission people's conception of Christianity and also upon the missionary conception of their own roles.

It was the policy of every missionary group at Shungu to avoid being closely identified with, or being dependent upon, the Colonial Administration. This policy was preferred by the missionaries for three major reasons. Firstly, the separation of the sacred from the secular spheres of life was cardinal to missionary teaching and policy. Thus any involvement on the part of the missionaries with the Administration, whose functions

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1. Oliver, Roland. 1970.(new impression). The missionary factor in East Africa. pp. 238 - 239.



were secular, would be contradictory. Secondly, it was necessary to re-assure the mission peoples that they (the missionaries) were not a party to the repressive or unpopular measures and legislation taken by the Administration against their interests. This could be best demonstrated by the missionaries being seen not to be compromising their positions by giving full co-operation to the State. Thirdly, a minimal reliance upon Government favours would place the missionaries under no serious obligation to support unpopular measures aimed against the mission peoples and the missionary establishment. (For a further examination of the relationship between Church and State, see Appendix III.)

In practice, however, the missionaries sometimes found themselves working against their own objectives. Such contradictions had far-reaching consequences for the development of missionary work in general. Thus, the very establishment of mission stations at Shungu obliged the missionaries to seek the authority of the Colonial Administration to secure themselves building sites on land belonging to the chiefs. In the eyes of the Africans such moves only helped to identify the motives of the missionaries with those of the Administration. Furthermore, as each missionary group strove to step up its number of schools, clinics, orphanages, etc., in the hope of attracting more people and therefore getting the chance to interest them in Christianity, it became necessary for it to seek financial help from other sources since the resources of the sponsoring societies were often limited. The missionaries thus found themselves having to seek financial aid from the Government. This move compromised their own position as independent agencies. They were therefore obliged to refrain from making any serious criticism of Government policies. Some missionary groups, like the PMS, went to the extent of pledging their unqualified support for Government policies and aims.

The mission structure and organization revealed further

contradictions in missionary teaching and practice. Basically, the mission station was created as a nucleus for the propagation of Christian ideals to the mission peoples through a core of selected followers, who would later go out into the field to spread Christianity. Through his own deeds, and through the mission station organization, the missionary was to present to the mission station community a practical demonstration of the Christian way of life. This model of living and organization, it was hoped, would later be emulated and reflected in the mission field. Here again, missionary practice presented a striking contrast to missionary teaching. The behaviour of the missionaries on mission stations was sometimes determined, not by religious or spiritual prescriptions, but by secular attributes such as their class, nationality and financial well-being. It was largely these attributes that came to make a lasting impression upon their African followers. For the most part, the missionaries disregarded what they taught in the church building and enforced a strict social segregation on the station. They lived separately from their African brethren, led a different life-style, enjoyed amenities that were denied the African. This was a potential source of conflict and it is surprising that only a few open confrontations between the missionaries and the Africans at Shungu appear to have occurred for, as Rotberg states, with reference to the general missionary pattern of behaviour, the Africans:

Often resented what appeared to be pretence and hypocrisy; they noted the apparent lack of congruence between utterance and action, envied the comparative wealth of the missionaries...<sup>1</sup>

The growth of mission structures posed further problems. As the number of mission employees and functions increased, the missionary found it necessary to

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1. Rotberg, R.I. 1965. p. 145.

organize the mission station on an efficient basis, calling for a rational and hierarchical structure, akin to that of the trader or colonial administrator. This had further consequences. Firstly, the missionary found himself at the apex of this administrative structure, with all that this entailed. Thus he found himself wielding a great deal of secular power. He kept mission records and accounts, settled disputes, supervised station tasks, enforced certain moral standards of behaviour; meted out punishments to offenders and expelled the undesirables. To this extent he came to enjoy as much secular power as the colonial administrator or manager of a trading concern. Consequently, the mission employees came to regard the missionary, not as their religious mentor, but as their master, in much the same way that they would have regarded their chief. Secondly, as the missionary became preoccupied with administrative and technical tasks, so did his contact with the people at the grassroots diminish. This development posed ethical problems for all the missionaries in the field. Some of them came to the mission field, expecting to be active evangelists but, instead, found themselves having to devote most or all of their time to administrative functions. While, no doubt, as we have already noted, there were some missionaries who preferred this kind of work, others became disillusioned and began to question the nature of missionary work. In all this, we may see the contrast in the practice of missionizing between 'Biblical pronouncement and observed behaviour'.

The evangelization of the field presented further problems for both the missionaries and their agents. In the early stages of missionizing, the missionaries appeared to have been successful in converting the Toka-Leya to Christianity. They attributed their apparent success to a religious awakening. On the other hand, most of the early converts were slaves, serfs and other people with a marginal status in their own society. Christianity was,

by its very nature, anti-slavery, etc., so that those who became converted also became free. Thus many Toka-Leya became Christians to achieve this objective. It was only after slavery and serfdom were outlawed by the British South Africa Company after 1902 and 1906 that the missionaries came to grasp this point. And only then did the wide gap existing between their professed religion and that of the Toka-Leya become apparent.

Underlying the Toka-Leya resistance to Christianity were three basic issues - ancestor worship, polygyny and beer-drinking. The missionaries wanted nothing less than the total abandonment of these practices. While being in agreement with the missionaries about the existence and importance of the Supreme Being, the Toka-Leya cosmology placed this Being far away from them, and it was through the ancestors that they could obtain favours from him. Only through ancestral intervention could they have rain, good harvest; only with the assistance of the ancestors could war and epidemics be averted. It was thus difficult for them to abandon ancestor worship, much as the missionary willed it. Secondly, polygyny in Toka-Leya society was an institution of social significance. It symbolised wealth, continuity of the lineage and political ties. The abandonment of this institution would have meant, for Toka-Leya chiefs and others with a stake in the society, a reduction in social prestige, the threatened extinction of the lineage and the weakening of their political ties in the society. Thirdly, beer, like polygyny had a social significance. Together with dance and music, it played a great role in ancestor worship and on social occasions. It was also an economic factor, in that the sale of beer brought in extra cash to the family. This point is discussed fully in Chapter 2.

To bridge the gap between the missionaries and the people at the grassroots, the missionaries employed mission agents who preferably originated from the local society.



While this proved an effective mode of spreading the Gospel, it raised other issues. While the village communities might have resented missionary teaching passively, given that open hostility might induce the missionary to seek to enforce his teaching by other much more unpleasant means, they had no need to treat the mission agents, who were their own kith and kin in the same way. Thus they openly showed hostility against these agents and drove some of them away from the villages. Again, the influence of the mission agents in the village communities tended to be divisive sometimes, as whole villages split into factions of Christians and non-Christians, a development that the missionaries had not anticipated.

Perhaps the most significant contradiction in the practice of missionizing would appear to be the use by missionaries of secular aspects of Western culture to attract the Toka-Leya to Christianity. Firstly, it may be pointed out that although the Toka-Leya were drawn to secular institutions run by the missionaries and significant numbers of them converted, these conversions were, for the most part, superficial as the greater number of the converts fell into apostasy soon after leaving the schools, clinics, orphanages, etc. This indicates that the Toka-Leya attended these institutions, not because of the religious instruction offered there, but primarily because they wanted to avail themselves of the secular services that were of direct benefit to themselves materially, intellectually and physically. Daneel has noted a similar situation among Africans who went to mission schools in Southern Rhodesia. He states:

it has become an established fact that ~~The~~ Roman Catholic and Dutch Reformed missions ~~attract~~ substantial numbers of their adherents while they are at school... and the general impression of Africans ... that church membership implies educational benefits led to superficial forms of christianization. The drift of post-educational

church members away from both Mission Churches reflects the ulterior and pragmatic aim that motivated<sup>1</sup> many pupils to join one of the churches.

Secondly, because the missionaries placed a great deal of emphasis upon schools, for instance, some Toka-Leya associated missionary work with children and schools and failed to see their religious significance.

Thirdly, the use of educational services by the missionaries to draw people to themselves resulted in the promotion of materialism among the Africans, for the more education the latter had, the more likely they were to secure relatively highly-paid jobs and the more sophisticated were the life-styles they were bound to develop. Yet the missionaries condemned materialism in society as an evil consequence of Western civilization.

A serious consequence of the increasing use of educational and medical services by the missionaries to gain spheres of influence among the Toka-Leya was inter-denominational rivalry which, in turn, had other implications. The rivalry that characterized the missionary groups, all striving to spread the same philosophy and religion appeared odd to the Toka-Leya, given that the missionaries only too often pointed to the multiplicity of the ancestors and their adherents as a major weakness of traditional Toka-Leya society. It became obvious to the Toka-Leya that schools and clinics had been erected in their areas, not because the missionaries wanted them to be particularly educated or healthy, but mainly because one missionary group wanted to claim their area to itself by using these attractions to keep rival groups off. The poor standards of the schools and clinics and the manner in which the school buildings and clinics were neglected confirmed this.

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1. Daneel, M.L. 1971. Old and new in southern Shona independent churches. p. 228.

I have already pointed out that most of the early converts to Christianity were men and women who had been slaves and serfs and that they turned to Christianity in order to gain their freedom from their masters; that having achieved this objective, they turned away from Christianity. Yet the Toka-Leya response to the missionary message was not entirely negative. Some converts became faithful and loyal followers of the mission churches until the end of their lives. These early Christians had two major characteristics in common. First, as I have pointed out already, they were people who had held marginal positions in society and thus found the Christian message appealing because it raised their self-esteem in this world and promised a better life in heaven. Secondly, most of the early converts were people who had had some contact with Europeans and Western civilization in the emerging urban centres of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia and, as such, had been some of the first to be directly affected by social change. This was probably the main factor which led them to the conclusion that the new changes which would soon affect all traditional society could not be adequately understood in terms of the particularistic traditional world-view. They thus turned to Christianity because it offered them a universalistic philosophy which enabled them to interpret the new disturbances in their society more meaningfully. Indeed, the content of the message of the early evangelists was of a prophetic nature.

Again, it may be pointed out that although those Toka-Leya who had a stake in the society were the most reluctant to abandon their beliefs and customs in accordance with the demands of the missionaries, many of them clearly recognized the importance of Christianity. Thus, as modern economic and political exigencies made themselves felt upon the social structure, and as the old social ties began to weaken as a result of these changes, many of these people found themselves looking up

to Christianity to enable them to come to terms with the disturbances in society. Some have sought to understand these changes and disturbances through African independent churches, for these have offered an alternative to the missionary-led and dominated mission churches - a development that has been noted in other parts of Africa where Christian missionaries have been active. The independent churches also cater for the needs of those Toka-Leya who wish to express themselves in specifically African forms, in the churches. In fairness to the Catholic Church, it may be pointed out that in recent years, it has adopted an accommodating policy toward African customs and practices among its church members. Robin Horton has noted this Catholic tendency in Nigeria. Thus he states:

Of the missionary denominations in Ikot Ekepene County, the Roman Catholic is by far the most sensitive and responsive to this condition, and some of its clergy are willing to accommodate Catholic ritual and dogma, at least in some measure, to the deeply rooted indigenous religious beliefs of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Banton has stated that "traditional African religion differs from that of the post-Reformation West" in that it "was not a separate category of thought" and that "It penetrated every aspect of everyday life and could only with difficulty be considered apart from the mundane round." Thus,

One consequence of this involvement of traditional religion in all aspects of social life is what has been called its 'totalitarian' character: because it is so little differentiated, the ideas of causality which it supports cannot be tested or disproved within this universe of meaning.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Horton, R. 'A hundred years of change in Kalabari religion', in John Middleton, (Ed) 1970. Black Africa. p. 221.
  2. Banton, M. 'African prophets', in John Middleton (Ed.) op. cit. p. 229.



Christianity, then, opens the 'closed system' of the Toka-Leya and provides its followers <sup>with a</sup> ~~moral~~ justification for their actions in attempting to meet the challenges of the modern situation. No longer are success in business or promotion to political office judged in terms of sorcery or magic, but in terms of a universalistic philosophy offering a wider interpretation.

We have seen that the various Christian churches, particularly the independent ones, have a wide social basis of membership recruitment. Thus in this way Christianity plays an important role in Toka-Leya society with the gradual breakdown of traditional social ties, by re-socializing alienated individuals and by re-structuring society into broadly-based socio-religious groupings.

Another aspect of the role of Christianity in contemporary Toka-Leya society is that the various Christian movements serve to express local political rivalries and generational differences.

Bryan Wilson has pointed out that the Watch Tower instils principles of moral rectitude into its membership in Kenya which, "like many other, is beset with a variety of moral problems, which include tribalism, nepotism, corruption, excessive drinking, wife-beating, adultery, and, especially in the cities, violence and theft"<sup>1</sup>. To some extent, Toka-Leya is beset with some of the problems Wilson lists above and it could be said that the strict codes of behaviour of the Christian churches serves to check such morally reprehensible forms of behaviour.

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1. Wilson, Bryan. 1976. Contemporary transformations of religion. p. 59.

Summary: Toka-Leya response to missionizing

In the spread of Christianity among the Toka-Leya, three phases may be distinguished. The first phase, which was also the period of initial contact between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya, was characterized by a seemingly favourable response on the part of the Toka-Leya. We have already noted the effect of the nineteenth century wars upon Toka-Leya society. The coming of the missionaries to Shungu was welcomed partly because it was a re-assurance to the Toka-Leya that Lozi and Ndebele raids would come to an end. We have also noted that the majority of those who responded favourably to Christianity in the early period of contact were the serfs, slaves and other Toka-Leya with marginal statuses in society. Christianity had come to Shungu partly to destroy slavery and thus, by getting converted at the mission station, the oppressed in society were able to gain their freedom and to attain social equality as well as self-esteem.

The second period of contact between the missionaries and the Toka-Leya was characterized by a lukewarm response on the part of the latter to the former's teaching. The threat of war had long passed; slavery and serfdom had been abolished in 1906. Thus the Toka-Leya no longer felt the need for missionary protection and most deserted from the church as a result. Indeed, stripped of its earlier functions at Shungu, Christianity revealed itself to the Toka-Leya as an alien ideology which made sense enough but was potentially disruptive to traditional society. The differences between Christianity and local African culture began to impress themselves both upon the Toka-Leya and the missionaries themselves. This cultural gap was exacerbated by the policies of the Colonial Government and the European settler community (including the missionaries themselves), particularly on matters relating to land, taxation and African customs. Moreover, the missionaries' determination to exclude the African

followers from holding significant positions in the churches did not help matters. On the other hand, this period of contact was also marked by missionary efforts to evangelize the Toka-Leya by indirect methods, including the provision of educational, medical and other social services which had a direct appeal to them. This development was to have far-reaching consequences for both the missionaries and the Toka-Leya: it went against missionary ethics and presented the Toka-Leya with a false view of Christianity. The missionaries were, indeed, successful in drawing large numbers of Toka-Leya, particularly the young, to themselves. But such conversions as they made were largely superficial, as the converts more often than not discarded missionary teaching when they left mission-controlled institutions. Most Toka-Leya went to these institutions in order to avail themselves of the secular services offered by the missionaries.

A significant development in the early missionizing effort has been the emergence of a few African Christians who have not only remained loyal to the churches but have themselves been actively involved in propagating Christianity among their own people. Most of these converts had belonged to the category of the 'marginals' in society. But they were also the people who had attained a broad outlook on life as a result of their contact with the early Europeans and missionaries, all of whom were early agents of change. Perhaps because of this wide horizon they came to appreciate the new social changes sweeping across traditional society and thus professed Christianity because of its wider interpretation of situations and life in general.

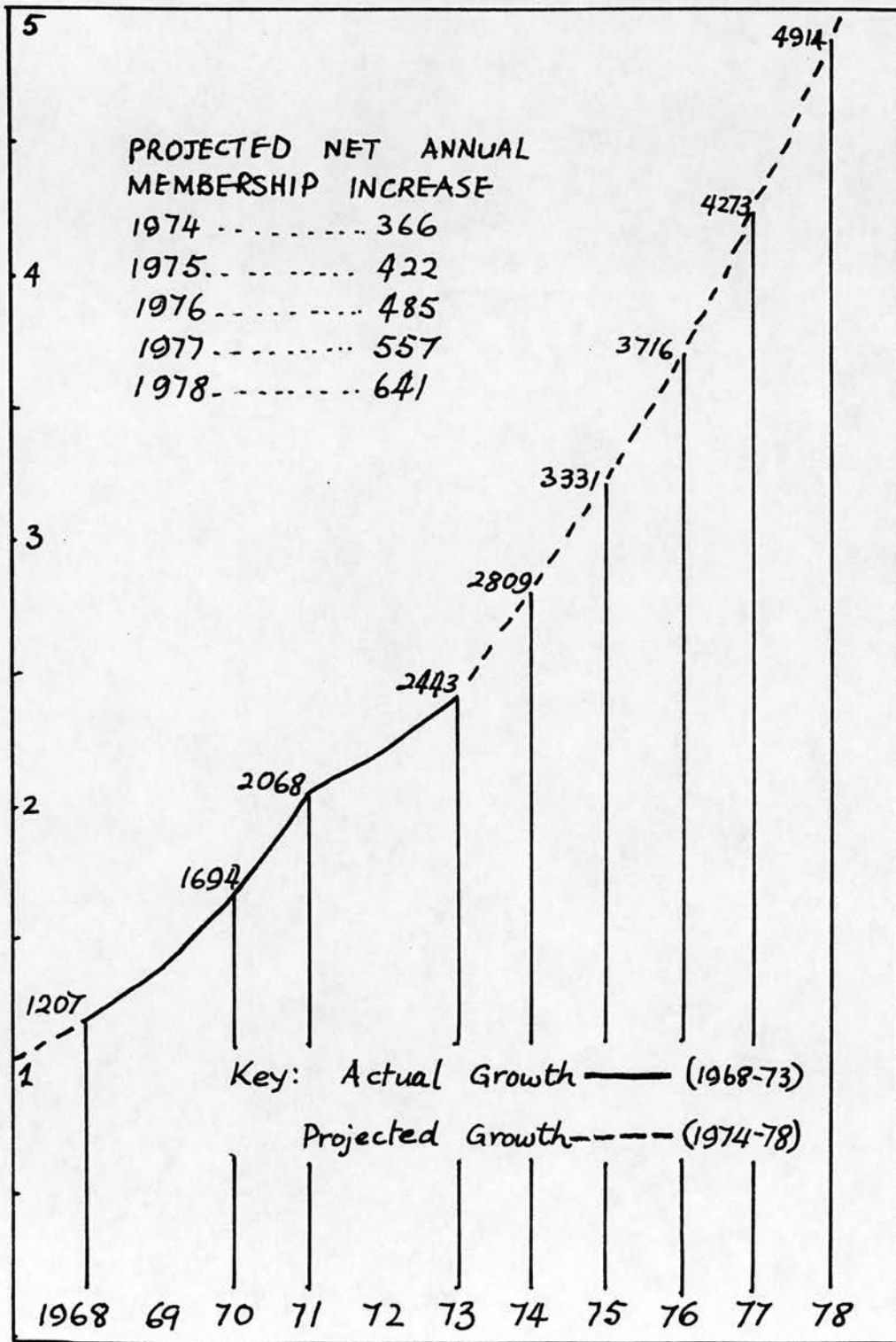
Another significant development in the evangelization of the Toka-Leay is that while the mission churches have clearly provided the lead in the spread of Christianity, in recent years, Toka-Leya have increasingly turned to the new African independent churches. This brings us to

the third and contemporary phase of Toka-Leya Christianization. The independent churches, by virtue of their origins and composition, provide their converts with a sense of leadership and belonging that mission churches still under missionary control cannot. The growth of the independent churches in recent years, coupled with the fact that after the sharp decline in <sup>the</sup> number of followers in the 1950's, the mission churches are also beginning to grow again, points to the fact that Christianity clearly plays a significant role in contemporary Toka-Leya society. It would appear that in the face of the changing economic, political, kinship and religious patterns in their society, the Toka-Leya are losing faith in the ability of their traditional cosmology in general and their ancestors in particular, to sustain their social order which is being disrupted by the changes. Christianity, by offering a universalistic ideology, provides means by which Toka-Leya can cope intellectually with the new changes in their society. It offers a wider interpretation of social situations and life which subsumes their narrow traditional world. I see this as the most important role of Christianity among the Toka-Leya, although, as I have already shown, it is by no means the only factor.



# CHURCH OF CHRIST 1973

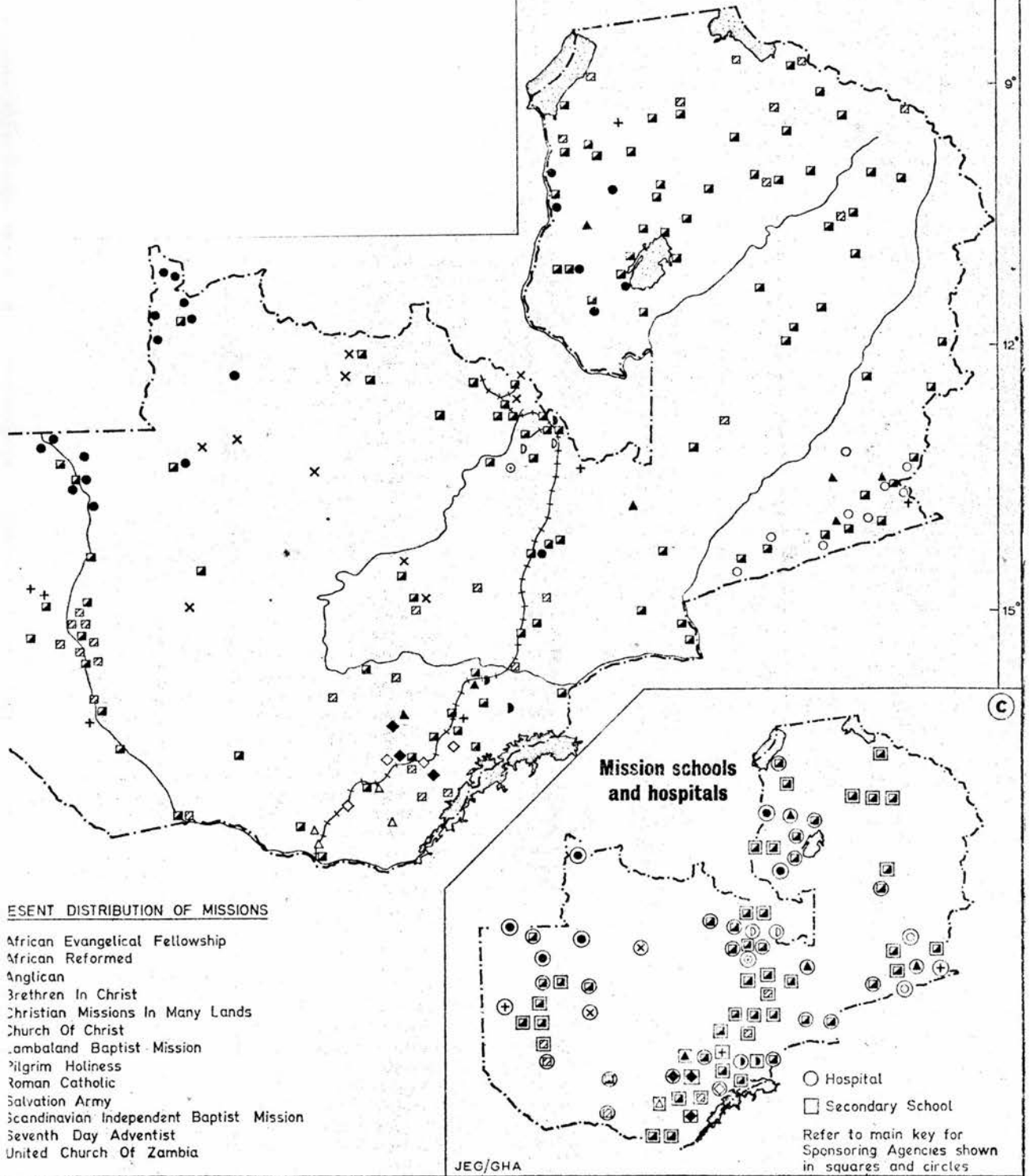
## PROJECTED MEMBERSHIP GROWTH 1968-78



GRAPH 1

# Missions, 1969

0 MILES 125  
0 KILOMETRES 200



MAP 7. MISSIONS AND MISSION HOSPITALS IN ZAMBIA

APPENDIX I

ZAMBEZI CONFERENCE TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMISSION IN PARIS

Records of Reports (1892)  
Sefula  
20th September, 1892

Dear Sirs and dear brothers,

We have the privilege of meeting together again, when our hearts are united towards our Heavenly Father and this task we are doing. Another one of our brothers has been asked to thank you for your sympathy and support and to let you know what progress we have made in the task which you have instructed us to carry out. You will rejoice with us just as you wept with us during our difficult times. We have been able to talk together and take some resolutions which we submit for your approval.

1. The first question was that of placings. After the death of Mrs. Coillard a semi-official agreement was made by the Zambezi missionaries as to the replacing of Mr. Louis Jalla. He leaves for Sefula and another missionary takes his place from Kazungula. The definite placings of missionaries at Sefula and Nalolo has had to be adjourned until Mr. Krüger's arrival. Mr. & Mrs. Jalla, assisted by Miss Keiner will provisionally take up the post at Sefula.

A more important question is the founding of a mission at Lealui, but we have postponed this because it is doubtful if a woman could live there and secondly because the capital has not yet been decided upon. Mr. Coillard is now ready to undertake the building of a house at Sefula, using the remainder of the funds given by friends. He has already taken the necessary steps and collected building materials. Mr. Coillard does not restrict himself; he wants to be free to extend his evangelistic work when he thinks it necessary. We would have liked to have spared our leader the trouble of making a new building considering the importance of his position. It only remain for us to thank him for the steps he has taken towards the founding of a station at Lealui. He will be accompanied by Mr. Waddell, who was recommended for the work firstly by Pauluse Tlamedi and then by Tahobo Moshabesha, the evangelists sent to us from Lesotho.

Before going on to another matter we must tell you of a plan. Mr. Waddell, who has been Mr. Coillard's right-hand man since his departure from Leribe, especially as

regards the construction work undertaken at Leshona, Sesheke and Sefula, has told us that he wishes to return to Europe. He has only delayed his departure in order to build the house for Mr. Coillard and the Chapel at Lealuyi. He wants to return to Europe to get married, but will return as soon as possible and serve with our mission as a craftsman and a missionary. We would be happy to receive him as a member of our missionary body. However Mr. Jalla puts one condition on his acceptance and that is that the stations of the Bas region (Lower region) also benefit from his work. And since the work to be done there is enormous we ask you to send us a helper for Sesheke and Kazungula - a professional man, and, if possible, a carpenter. We propose for your approval that Mr. Waddell, as a craftsman and missionary resides at Sefula to serve the stations of the Barotse area.

2. We thank the Lesotho Conference for its interest and good wishes expressed in a letter of the 5th May last and for sending us the evangelists Pauluse and Jahoba. So that they feel in touch with their Church in Lesotho we would ask you to supply a fixed rate of £40 for a married couple and £25 for a single person instead of giving them clothes and paying their journey to Manguato.

3. Mr. Goy wrote a letter dated the 26th Nov. 1891, in which he asked for an increase in fees. Mr. Jalla officially said that if this increase was not granted he would resign on the 1st May, 1893. The Conference decided to increase Mr. Goy's salary to £150 and to grant him £20 each year for transport costs. Besides this could we give a member of our mission the right to leave at any time if everyone agrees?

4. We have not returned to the circumstances which led Mr. Jalla to resign. We could not accept his resignation, but here is the resolution which we decided upon, after having a friendly discussion. It is to ask you if Mr. Jalla can go through our accounts and make a financial report which will be published as an integral part of the Society records. We would like to have a greater say in the control of our finances since we are not happy about the way in which Mr. Sebulz makes out our receipts and pays our expenses. In order to do this we ask that the Society's treasurer sends us a twice yearly report of our receipts and whatever arises from them.

5. Another question which you mentioned in your letter of the 11th February 1892, and that is the question of special or personal gifts and we cannot agree with your opinion. We do not think that the interest of the givers will be lessened if we insist that their gifts be put towards the funds in general instead of towards a special section. It is true that it serves no purpose to have a branch develop if it does so to the detriment of the trunk which supports it. You must realise that our salary is



sufficient for our personal needs and that all special gifts are used for the benefit of our work and to cover expenses which come out of our general funds (such as horses, schools, bells, chapels, the Lealui station etc.)

6. Another point arising from your letter in which you announce and recommend Mr. Vollet, is that you seem to wish that the Zambezi Mission is entirely French. Of course we are French as far as guidance is concerned and we wish to remain so but is not one of our distinctive features that we are soon to become international? We believe that the field should be open to any young French man, Italian, Swiss, German, Belgian or English man called by God and well prepared for the work. We welcome all nationalities. We are the only missionaries in this particular area and we must apply ourselves to the work, otherwise we could lose the area because the Barotse are a changeable people, the best missionaries, in their eyes, being those who provide the most gifts and are most liberal. We must not be under any illusion - a generation in time must pass before we gain their confidence.

7. Here are some decisions taken at the Conference:

- (i) After 10 consecutive years of residence in the Zambezi area each member has the right to go on leave.
- (ii) We believe that on account of the area's climatic conditions, each member has the right to retire after 30 years service.
- (iii) A missionary does not have a resolute vote until he has been officially received as a member of our missionary body.
- (iv) The Conference fixed at £600 for a married couple and £350 for a single missionary as the maximum amount he can receive from the time of his departure from Paris until the day he arrives at the Zambezi Mission and becomes a member of our mission. We think that this sum is sufficient for buying his clothing, provisions, his wagon and also to cover all the expenses of the journey as far as the Zambezi Mission.
- (v) No missionary will receive his salary until his arrival at his station where he has been placed provisionally or definitely.
- (vi) The Conferences fixed a missionary's private allowance at £30 and will advance him  $\frac{2}{3}$  of his first year's salary.
- (vii) The Conference demands the right to stop the

payment of those missionaries who withdraw money from the funds.

- (viii) The Conference accepted Mr. Coillard's suggestion to raise Miss Kiener's allowance to £60.
- (ix) The Conference decided to urge the Committee to stop Mr. Vollet from drawing on our funds again.
- (x) The Conference will grant to any missionary who leaves the mission on the grounds of ill-health the cost of transporting up to 4,000 lbs. weight.
- (xi) The Conference asks the Committee to continue its official communication with the Mission at Kazungula so that the missionaries of the Bas region can have knowledge of them.
- (xii) In view of the great irregularity of our mail and the great number of letters and papers which have gone astray the Conference asks that Mr. Jalla begins a regular biannual correspondence between Kazungula and Mangwato.

Moreover Mr. Coillard will write to the Governor of the Colonies to ask for a subsidy for this matter. Besides all this Mr. Coillard will take the necessary steps to establish a monthly correspondence between our various stations.

#### Rules of the Zambezi Mission.

1. The Conference of the Zambezi Mission consists of missionaries and helpers sent from the Paris Commission.
2. Only ordained missionaries have a resolute power, the others have a consultative power.
3. Each Conference will nominate a Committee composed of a President and a Secretary who will be re-elected each year.
4. Decisions taken by the Conference cannot be applied unless sanctioned by the Committee, except in an urgent case.
5. Decisions are taken on a majority vote. In the case of a ballot the President has a double vote.
6. The Conference is concerned with the spiritual and material interest of the Mission.

7. The Conference assigns a post to each new worker whose destination has not been specified by the Committee.
8. The Conference has the power to remove temporarily or permanently, according to the circumstances, any member of the Mission.
9. Every 5 years the Conference will nominate an agent to check the accounts and make a report to the Mission. He is to be re-elected.
10. The President and the Secretary, along with this agent, form an ex-officio Executive Commission, to which the Conference hands over full powers until the next session when the Commission must state its position.
11. The Executive Commission is authorised to call a meeting of the Conference as and when it considers it necessary.
12. During intervals between sessions the Executive Commission must carry out any official correspondence.
13. Every year each missionary must present a report to the Ex. Commission on the spiritual and material progress of his station.

Gentlemen, we believe that a great part of the responsibility for the Zambezi Mission must rest with the individual missionaries, but Mr. Vollet's conduct has opened our eyes to some of the dangers of this system and so we have formulated the decisions listed in 3,4,5 and 9 above.

And now gentlemen and dear brethren it only remains for me to thank you once again for the interest with which you follow our work, for the way you understand our disappointments as well as our happiness and for the efforts you have made to overcome our deficit. Our Father will provide for our needs.

Please accept our feelings of devotion and gratitude, as well as the assurance of our affection in Jesus Christ.

P/S. We wish to recall the Committee's attention to one of our propositions in our letter of 1890, stating that all unmarried missionaries must carry out 5 years of service at Zambezi before returning to meet their fiancées.

We ask the Committee to inform immediately all missionaries, before leaving Paris for the Zambezi Mission, of all the rules and decision which might concern them.

Secretary  
Zambezi Mission Conference.

APPENDIX II

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH:

ORGANIZATION AND DOCTRINE

APRIL 1970 (Extract from Church pamphlet).

Questions and Answers about our Church

1. Q. What is the name of our Church?  
A. African Methodist Episcopal Church.
2. Q. When was it founded?  
A. In the year 1787.
3. Q. Who founded it?  
A. Richard Allen.
4. Q. What brought about its founding?  
A. The black people had no influence in the Church vis a vis the white people. Moreover they were segregated and discriminated against.
5. Q. What year did the Church reach South Africa?  
A. 1896.
6. Q. Who introduced the Church to South Africa?  
A. Brother M.M. Mackoney.
7. Q. Who was the first Bishop of the Church to work in South Africa?  
A. Bishop Turner.
8. Q. Who were the two white men who assisted Allen to spread the teaching of the Church?  
A. Robert Ralston and Benjamin Rush.
9. Q. Who consecrated Richard Allen Bishop?  
A. Bishop Ashbury of the Wesley Methodist Episcopal Church.
10. Q. When was Allen born?  
A. On 14th February, 1760.
11. Q. When did Allen die.  
A. In 1831.
12. Q. How many Conferences are held by the Church?  
A. Six.



13. Q. What are they called?  
A. 1. Church Conference. 2. Official Board.  
3. Quarterly Conference. 4. District Conference.  
5. Annual Conference. 6. General Conference.
14. Q. Who owned Allen as a slave?  
A. It was Stockly of Dela in the United States of America.
15. Q. How old was Allen when he started preaching to his fellow slaves?  
A. He was 17 years old.
16. Q. What was the result of his teaching?  
A. His master was so impressed that he decided to set him free.
17. Q. When was he set free?  
A. In 1777.
18. Q. What name was given to the movement initially?  
A. Bethel Church.
19. Q. When did he buy the first church building?  
A. In the year 1793.

APPENDIX III

A FURTHER NOTE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCH, STATE  
AND THE MISSION PEOPLES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO  
SOCIAL POLICY AND MISSIONARY INFLUENCE

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From the very beginning of British Colonial Rule in Northern Rhodesia, social policy affecting Africans was often influenced, and not infrequently initiated, by the missionaries. In this regard the missionaries found themselves in a dilemma, for, as we have already seen, while purporting to champion the cause of the Africans with regard to social, political and economic rights, they often worked hand-in-hand with the Colonial Government to plan or support policies that were sometimes unpopular to the Africans. Indeed, some missionary groups went to the extent of pledging their total loyalty to the State, which in effect meant that they were committed to supporting the objectives and policies of the State. The PMS, for instance, identified its task in the country as basically similar to that of the Colonial Government. Thus in a letter to the Resident Magistrate of Mongu, Barotseland, the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the Zambezi Mission stated in 1909:

The only object of the Mission has always been the progress and welfare of this population, and our greatest desire is to help in whatever possible way, the Administration of the country in its work of civilization.

We take advantage of this opportunity to thank the Government of North-Western Rhodesia for its consideration toward the Mission and to declare once more our feelings of loyalty toward its administration.<sup>1</sup>

While the PMS's declaration above cannot be taken as giving the true position of the church, it nevertheless demonstrates the extent to which missionaries were prepared to compromise their position as independent agencies in order to placate the State. In general, there were many issues relating to social policy on which the missionaries in conjunction with the State played a decisive role. In previous Chapters I have shown the missionaries' dependence upon the secular authority of the State to obtain land from African chiefs as well as on their dependence upon State funds to expand their educational and social services for Africans. This greatly affected the independent stance the missionaries had previously adopted

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1. Letter from Secretary of the Executive Committee, PMS, to Resident Magistrate, Mongu; dated Mabumbu, 22nd May, 1909. PMS Records, Livingstone Museum. File ADMIN BRITANNIQUE. Kalomo-Mongu 1908-33.

in opposing oppressive or unjust Government legislation affecting Africans. In this Appendix, I want to examine further, the role played by the missionaries in the formulation of policies relating to land, taxation and traditional customs.

(a) Land

Of the missionary societies at Shungu, the PMS played a strategic role on the land issue, especially in the initial days of the Chartered Company's rule. As we have already seen, when Cecil Rhodes sent Captain Lochner in 1890 to negotiate land and mineral treaties with the Lozi King, Lewanika, it was Francois Coillard, founder of the PMS Zambezi Mission, acting as private advisor to the Barotse Council, who persuaded the King to sign the treaties. Soon after, when Lewanika and the Barotse nation found out that they had signed away their claims to most of North-Western Rhodesia (except Barotseland), they blamed Coillard for the part he played in the affair and accused him of conniving with B.S.A. officials to deprive them of their vassal territories. So great was the Lozi resentment against the PMS missionaries that Coillard wrote grimly: "We have been scratched in the thorny field of politics, which is certainly not ours. We have fallen into a hornet's nest. We do not yet know what final turn affairs may take"<sup>1</sup>. Following this unhappy affair, PMS missionaries refused to have any part in subsequent land deals between the Lozi king and the Chartered Company. Yet the damage had already been done and the Company took full control of all the territory outside Barotseland that Lewanika had laid claim to previously - which was practically the whole of what later came to be known as North-Western Rhodesia.

A detailed account of the process by which African land was alienated to European farmers and settlers and the effect of this upon the Toka-Leya, following the Chartered Company's acquisition of land and mineral rights in North-Western Rhodesia, has already been given in a previous Chapter. Reference has also been made to the creation in 1926 of a Land Commission by the Imperial Government to look into the problems of land, which resulted in the creation of Native Reserves in 1930. It was, in fact, the missionaries who, alarmed at the alienation of large tracts of land to European settlers, and at the Chartered Company's threat in 1917 to take away even more land from the Africans, especially in North-eastern Rhodesia, urged Government action to halt the process.<sup>2</sup> At the General Missionary Conference of 1924,

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1. Coillard, F. 1971. On the threshold of Central Africa p. 407.
  2. Taylor, J.V. and Dorothea Lehmann. 1961. Christians of the Copperbelt. pp. 10-11.



the missionaries passed a resolution that, "Since large portions of the country have already been alienated and ceded to European owners, the Conference is of the opinion that almost all the balance will be needed to meet the requirements of the native population... The Conference suggests that all unalienated lands be regarded as held in trust for the native peoples."<sup>1</sup>

The creation of a Land Commission by the Government at the instance of the missionaries, and the subsequent creation of the Native Reserves, had far-reaching effects for the African population. In the first place, the creation of the Reserves had the intended effect of safe-guarding land rights for Africans. In effect, the land set aside for the Reserves was largely inadequate and agriculturally less productive than that alienated to the European farmers. This, at least was the case at Shungu. Secondly, the creation of the Reserves offered both the Administration and the white farmers the opportunity to rid areas close to the railway line of Africans, thereby creating a white belt. Yet it is also clear that the missionaries, in urging the reservation of land for Africans, had not foreseen the ultimate effects of their action. They certainly had never intended the overcrowding of Reserves with Africans nor the creation of white belts in the country, although they believed, generally, "that a degree of [white] settlement helped progress and was advantageous to the native population".<sup>2</sup>

Although the missionaries were indirectly responsible for the creation of the Native Reserves, they did not like the form these took and, accordingly, fought to rectify the situation, mainly through the influence of Bishop Alston May, the Anglican Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, who fought successfully for the restoration of alienated land to the Africans, particularly those of Msoro in the Eastern Province of Zambia. At Shungu, the chiefs' efforts to resist eviction from their land in what came to be known as Crown Land areas came to nothing and the PMS missionary in charge of the Livingstone station could only say with a touch of irony: "...the Government is evacuating the whole region (thus going against the treaties, I believe). Siakasipa, Katombola and many others must move. The scattering, then the regrouping a little farther on, may create work and opportunities for the Livingstone missionary"<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Proceedings of the General Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia 1924. p. 24
  2. Melland, F.H. The Missionary Conference of Northern Rhodesia, 1922. (An impression and an appreciation) MS. PMS Records, Livingstone Museum.
  3. Bouchet, J. Report on the station of Livingstone 1929/30. PMS Records. Livingstone Museum.



(b) Taxation

Reference has already been made to the problem of taxation and its effects on the Toka-Leya social structure. What has not been emphasized, however, was the part played by the missionaries in encouraging or opposing African taxation. As with the question of land, the missionaries appear to have played a double role here. As a Conference, they were opposed to the taxation of Africans which, in effect, caused a disruption of rural life all over the country as Africans had to seek work in distant places to find money for their taxes. Bishop May, as leader of the Missionary Conference in 1922 put the missionaries' case to the Government. "To tax him in order to force him to work", he observed, "is to exploit him for the commercial benefit of the white man. This is unjust and oppressive, and when work can only be obtained in a foreign country hundreds of miles away, the injustice and oppression become intolerable."<sup>1</sup> But the missionaries' real opposition to taxation was that the disruption of rural life it gave rise to made it difficult for them to carry out their missionary work. It was "a very serious handicap to our work," declared Bishop May, "both from an educational and evangelistic point of view".<sup>2</sup>

The problem was to be partly resolved only after Company rule ended in 1924.

The scattering of the male population of Shungu in the early part of this century, as a result of taxation was certainly a major problem to the pioneering PMS missionaries, as has already been pointed out in an early Chapter. The missionaries found the Toka-Leya villages inhabited mainly by women and children while the men were away in the south, working on the mines for money to pay their taxes.

Yet for all their opposition to the taxation of Africans by the Chartered Company, the missionaries themselves appear to have instigated some of the taxation measures which they later condemned. One such form of taxation was the hut tax which was levied on every man for every additional hut (representing an additional wife) he had. The tax was first introduced in 1904. According to Rotberg, the missionaries themselves first suggested the idea to the Government:

Like their colleagues in Nyasaland, they successfully urged the Company to introduce

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1. Weller, J. 'The influence on national affairs of Alston May, Bishop of Northern Rhodesia, 1914-40' in: Ranger, T.O. and John Weller (Eds.) Themes in the Christian history of Central Africa. 1975.p.199.
  2. Ibid. p. 199.

the taxation of huts in order that Africans might thereby be encouraged both to work for white employers and to reduce the number of polygynous marriages.<sup>1</sup>

This would indicate yet another case whereby the missionaries co-operated with the Administration to produce legislation which was not only unpopular to the Africans but which they themselves found to be harmful both to the African way of life and to their own work.

(c) African traditional customs

At first it may appear paradoxical that Government policy relating to traditional customs was more liberal than missionary thinking. But, in fact, this was consistent with their positions. It was the policy of the Colonial Government to interfere as little as possible with those African customs that were considered to be a stabilising factor and that did not run counter to State policies. Customary marriages, beer-drinking, traditional dances, etc, were all seen as customs beneficial to society generally. The missionaries, on the other hand, saw these in a different light, for as we have already seen, these customs did not meet the requirements of their own brand of Christianity. This was more so with the CC and the PMS than with the RCC.

Customary marriage was an issue over which Government policy and missionary injunctions were at variance. The Government took the view that an African marriage was legal if it was contracted by customary law and that missionary solemnization of an African marriage should be interpreted as having a religious significance only. Thus:

There is no objection to a religious ceremony of marriage being performed by missionaries over natives already married to one another in accordance with native law or custom without compliance with our marriage laws, provided it is made clear to the parties that such ceremony is of religious significance only and does not purport to be of any legal effect: that is to say, it must be made clear that the ceremony purports to be binding in the eyes of the Church alone and not of the law.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Rotberg, R.I. 1965. Christian missionaries and the creation of Northern Rhodesia. p. 100.
  2. Letter from District Commissioner, Livingstone, to the Reverend J. Roulet, dated Livingstone, 9th April, 1918; headed 'Native Christian marriages'. PMS Records. (Letter No. 6/18/18) Livingstone Museum.

Accordingly, a form of religious address, which was farcical in its construction, was devised by the Colonial Government, for use in solemnizing African marriages by missionaries. But only the UMCA appears to have adopted it. The address went as follows:

ADDRESS AT THE SOLEMNIZATION OF CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE,  
FOLLOWING AFTER THE FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
OF NATIVE CUSTOM

These two people - this man and this woman - have come here to-day (into GOD'S house), because they are Christians and want to live together according to God's laws in HOLY Marriage. It is the law of the Boma that they must first follow the good customs of the country about marriages. I have enquired carefully, and I learn that they have done these things. The man has hoed in his mother-in-law's garden and given her presents, and the mother and father agree that he shall marry this woman. And the woman has also agreed ... (N.B. of course the native requirements will vary in different parts)... There is no mlandu<sup>1</sup> in the village. This is good. All men will say "this man has followed the custom of this country: therefore let this woman live with him in his house and be his wife".

Therefore if this man and this woman were heathens the business would be already finished. But they are Christians, and therefore it is right that they should come here (to God's house) before they sleep together. The marriage of heathens is a small matter. Perhaps a heathen man will have many wives; and again the man and woman do not agree that they will live together always; if they are heathens, they do not know God's laws. Therefore King GEORGE SAYS:

"If they wish to be divorced, I agree. Perhaps afterwards all the people will be Christians, and then they will not want to be divorced. That will be good".

But we are Christians: and the marriage of Christians is a very great matter. The Christian man can only have one wife: and she is his wife for always. He cannot be divorced. If they do these things they are cast out from the people of God. OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST says "those whom God has joined together let no man put asunder". Therefore this man and this woman have come here now

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1. Mlandu (Nyanja word): case, crime, fault.



(into God's house) before they begin to live together. First they will live together always, according to God's laws. Then I will join their hands together as a sign that God has joined them together, till death part them. And then I will bless them in God's name and they will receive the body and Blood of our Lord JUSES CHRIST IN Holy COMMUNION... that they may live happily together, and have strength to keep their promises and to do God's commands.<sup>1</sup>

Some missionary societies, however, were dissatisfied with the Government ruling and petitioned the Administration for recognition of African marriages solemnized by missionaries. At the 1922 General Missionary Conference, the issue was raised but the missionaries failed to agree on the definition of 'African marriage'. The PMS, however, because of its abhorrence of African customs, was most perturbed about the Government's attitude on the issue. In 1917, the wife of a missionary complained that Church marriages could not be performed in Sinde Village to the west of Livingstone because, according to "the recent law coming from the English Government, only the marriages made after local customs are valid".<sup>2</sup> And her husband added: "At the moment I face certain difficulties because of a new law on native marriages. These marriages made by religious authorities are not recognized by the Government. That obliges these neo-Christians wanting a marriage to have recourse to local customs because there is no other marriage recognized for them. It is very inconvenient".<sup>3</sup>

The missionaries frequently appealed to the Administration to enforce legislation which ran counter to African interests, or to prohibit African practices that the missionaries regarded as sinful or repugnant to Christian morality. The PMS, for instance, constantly urged officials of the Administration in Livingstone to ban Africans from drinking beer, which they regarded as a source of evil. "Even the Government," wrote Mme J. Roulet in 1915, "has installed a Canteen in the Compound and sells beer there everyday, even on Sundays. My husband has made representations to the Magistrate that this Canteen should be closed at least on Sundays. But he replied that that could scarcely be done because the blacks drink beer in the villages around

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1. From PMS file: ADMIN. BRITANNIQUE Kalomo-Mongu. 1908-1933. PMS. Records. Livingstone Museum.
  2. From a letter by Mme Gustav Pons; dated Livingstone, 5th February, 1917. In News of the Zambezi: September, 1917. p. 66.
  3. From a letter by M. Gustav Pons; dated Livingstone, 5th February, 1917. In News of the Zambezi. September. 1917. p. 66.



and the Doctor has found that this beer is a good tonic for the blacks and stops the scurvy, which is very prevalent among them."<sup>1</sup>

Such measures reveal that the missionaries were, to a great extent, dependent upon the Government in their dealings with Africans. This dependence obliged them to maintain good relations with Administrative officials, while making them suspect in the eyes of the Africans. Furthermore, they reveal that the missionaries, while purporting to act as protectors of African interests were also involved in the promotion of social policies which sometimes proved injurious or unpopular to the Africans.

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1. From a letter by Mme J. Roulet; dated Livingstone, 4th May, 1915, in News of the Zambezi. November, 1915, p. 72.

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